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SIR WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN AND INDIAN ART

By W. G. ARCHER

THE present exhibition of the Rothenstein collection at the Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum, is the first time that this great collection of Indian paintings has been put on view in a national museum. Such an occasion affords a useful opportunity for a critical appraisal of the pictures but even more for assessing Sir William Rothenstein's important share in creating the modern attitude to Indian art.

Rothenstein's first experience of Indian sculpture occurred in the eighteen-nineties. He was on a visit to the studio of Degas and it was there that he saw a plaster cast of an Indian figure. There is some doubt as to the identity of this figure, but, whatever its subject, Rothenstein was captivated by its sculptural appeal. He determined to investigate Indian art more closely and out of this first response grew a life-long passion not only for Indian sculpture and painting but for India and its people.

The next stage consisted in discussions. During the period when he lived at Hampstead his house became a centre for Indian visitors. A. K. Coomaraswamy was one of his earliest friends and there is little doubt that Rothenstein assisted him in formulating his revolutionary approach to Indian art. To make a contribution of this character is primarily a question of morale. The critic must not only be sure of his own responses; he must possess a certain audacity in order to express his novel attitudes. Coomaraswamy was by nature a revolutionary, but the knowledge that Rothenstein was prepared to share his enthusiasm and approve his discoveries must have given him an important impetus for vindicating Rajput painting.

But, for Rothenstein, discussion was not enough, and presently his friendship with Coomaraswamy, Binyon and Mrs. Herringham strengthened him in a single firm resolve. He was determined to visit India—

to experience for himself the country which he had come to value through the medium of its art. There was also the private artist behind this resolution, for in making his whole-hearted response to Indian sculpture he had felt a longing to experience the shapes and colours of India itself. Only, in fact, by *drawing* India could he complete his education in Indian modes of life.

Before this visit could take place, however, an event occurred which gave him an immediate status as a champion of Indian art. The occasion was a paper by E. B. Havell on "Art Administration in India," delivered at the Royal Society of Arts on January 13, 1910. The Chairman was Sir George Birdwood, and during some concluding remarks he voiced a banal attitude which had characterized the great majority of Englishmen throughout the nineteenth century. Professor Westmacott had written in 1861: "There is no temptation to dwell at length on the sculpture of Hindustan. It affords no assistance in tracing the history of art, and its debased quality deprives it of all interest as a phase of Fine Art." Birdwood was equally emphatic: "Of 'fine art,' the unfettered and impassioned realization of the ideals kindled within us, by the things without us, I have up to the present, and through an experience of seventy-eight years, found no examples in India"; and he went on to dismiss with contumely a figure of the Buddha. "This senseless similitude in its immemorial fixed pose is nothing more than an uninspired brazen image, vacuously squinting down its nose to its thumbs and knees and toes. A boiled suet pudding would serve equally well as a symbol of passionless purity and serenity of soul." There is a touch of senility in this pompous diatribe, but its arrogant insensitivity so disgusted Rothenstein that he promptly initiated two lines of action. The first was a letter to *The Times* in which,

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along with artists and critics such as W. R. Lethaby, Walter Crane, Laurence Housman, Emery Walker and George Frampton, he countered Birdwood's opinions by expressing the greatest admiration for Indian art. "We find in the best art of India," the letter said, "a lofty and adequate expression of the religious emotion of the people and their deepest thoughts on the subject of the divine. We recognize in the Buddha type of sacred figure one of the great artistic inspirations of the world. We hold that the existence of a distinct, a potent and a living tradition is a possession of priceless value to the Indian people and one which they, and all who admire and respect their achievement in this field, ought to guard with the utmost reverence and love."¹ At a later stage Rothenstein would certainly have couched his defence of Indian art in very different terms, but it was characteristic of his passion for India that, faced with such an attack, he should be willing to defend Indian sculpture even on the ground of religion.

Rothenstein's second step was even more important—he proposed the formation of an India Society. "A meeting was held at Havell's house and with the support of Dr. and Mrs. Herringham, Thomas Arnold Roger Fry, T. W. Rolleston and others, the new society was formed."² Its object was to end the contemptuous dismissal of Indian sculpture and painting, to enhance its appreciation and to place it before the Western public as a type of art possessing contemporary appeal. This function has now been fulfilled for forty years and as a result the English understanding of Indian art has been greatly enlarged.

Preparations were meanwhile maturing for Rothenstein's visit to India, and later in the same year he made the journey. The months which followed had many consequences. They confirmed him in his love of India, for as he travelled from Elephanta, Ajanta and Rajputana to Benares, Calcutta and Orissa he was continually assaulted by the picturesque. "My dear Charles," he wrote to his elder brother in January, 1911, "Yes: I think you would

like India. It is perfectly glorious to have the sun day after day and such marvellous subjects as are to be found every step one takes here—the very richness of life stands in the way of one's representing it adequately on a first visit." And later he recorded his intense delight at Udaipur "with its shining marble palaces, mirrored in still lakes," at "the graver beauty of Jodhpur with its square houses of red sandstone and medieval castle," and above all at "the serene splendour of Benares." "As I was rowed along the ghats and saw the great massive buildings of apricot-coloured stone which towered above the long flights of steps leading up from the river, I could imagine no lovelier or more radiant scene."³ "The magnificent buildings, the ever-changing crowd, coloured like a great border of flowers, the processions carrying litters and banners: and then the austere figures sitting like bronze figures of Buddha and Bodhisattvas—was I in truth awake or living in a dream? What were the English painters doing, to miss such subjects as these I was seeing, which no one but the Dutchman Bauer had attempted? And think of what Zoffany saw a hundred years ago and that a succession of painters have since come to India and painted only Maharajas."⁴

Before such instances of the picturesque Rothenstein was inspired to practical creation, and he returned to England bringing with him three completed paintings and one hundred and fifty drawings.

These drawings admirably reflected Rothenstein's enthusiasms and we can gain an idea of their total impression from a foreword contributed by H. G. Wells to the exhibition catalogue.

"I am no art critic," he said. "I enter the world of drawings and pictures simply to admire or to fail to admire, and it would be presumptuous in me to offer a criticism of Mr. Wm. Rothenstein's technical ability. To my eye these drawings have the happy simplicity and the happy directness of the leap of a trained athlete: I cannot analyse the process, I can but

appreciate the achievement. For me the interest of the exhibition lies not in the shining quality of its art so much as in the admirable choice and poise of its subjects. I have a great and growing curiosity about India; since my boyhood I have felt the wonder and splendour of its colour, the glittering romance in its atmosphere, the temples and elephants and apes and peacocks, the mystery of the immense and multitudinous silence of its innumerable crowds. And always I have been seeking to obtain some sense of the personalities of its people. It seems to me now that Mr. Rothenstein has changed all that for ever. He has brought India—which has so persistently remained away there, spectacular, marvellous, inaccessible—into the proximity of a personal acquaintance. As I turned these drawings over for the first time, I found myself saying again and again, 'Of course, of course. This is it. This is what I wanted to know and what I ought to have known was there.'

But besides confirming Rothenstein in his love of India and stimulating him to record these impressions, the visit greatly extended his Indian friendships. His own formula—"to enjoy a foreign country one should have love in one's heart"—is only a partial explanation. Other qualities—a warm and gentle kindness, a power of intimate understanding, a respectful sincerity in all his social intercourse—made him instinctively at one with the Indians he met. But even more, a capacity for sensing and appreciating Indian attitudes made him acceptable as a friend. At Benares, he quickly exchanged a European hotel for a house in the city. "I hadn't come so far to live in an English cantonment," he said, and there followed long hours spent at ghats and shrines in the company of sadhus. "Whether I was moved by the religions and philosophy I heard discussed or more by the beauty and dignity of the men with whom I sat, I know not. Certainly the combination of personal dignity with a subtle insight into

the springs of mental life gave me a profound happiness I have never experienced before or since."⁵ Such happiness in Indian society was an obvious passport to Indian affections, and during his stay Rothenstein made permanent friendships, not the least of which were with Abanindranath and Gogonendranath Tagore.

Friendships with these artists led on to an awareness of the neo-Bengal school of painting. The work of Abanindranath he had already seen, for Coomaraswamy had brought examples of it to England. But paintings by Nandalal Bose, Ajit Kumar Haldar and others were new. It is unlikely that Rothenstein can have rated their productions very highly, but private reservations did not blind him to the general situation. He realized that a national movement was growing up in Indian art and that after the impasse of the late nineteenth century a new beginning must be made. An attitude of constructive sympathy was needed and Rothenstein was sensitive enough to Indian feelings to provide it. "At Calcutta," he wrote, "I met a group of charming young artists who gave me a touching welcome. Had I but come to India earlier, I would gladly have stayed among these students so perplexed between two traditions." His immediate stay was short, but its repercussions were considerable.

During these months Rothenstein also visited a number of ancient and medieval sites, and from this we must date his scholarly interpretation of Indian sculpture. Until he went to India his experience of Indian art had been confined to specimens in Western collections. He now saw Indian sculpture in its natural setting and his earlier enthusiasm received exhilarating confirmation. Medieval Indian sculpture of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries particularly excited him, and at Khajuraho he marvelled at "the mastery shown in the carvings, the plastic beauty of the forms, the energetic and subtle postures of the figures playing in and out of the light and shadows of the mouldings and the design and the rhythm concentrated in each

panel.”⁶ At Bhuvaneshwar he was excited “at the superb dynamic carving of pure Hindu artists,” and he wondered “in front of these superb creations, that the Gandharan heresy still survived, a crude injustice to the Indian genius.” His final judgment is expressed in a single sentence: “The mediæval craftsman showed that combination of disciplined power and intuitive impulse which only the greatest modern artists have achieved.”⁷ A similar enthusiasm attended his inspection of paintings. Abanindranath Tagore had already made his great collection of Pahari and Rajput paintings and during his visits to Jorasanko, Rothenstein saw more and more examples of the schools of painting to which Coomaraswamy had earlier drawn his attention.

All these experiences were of the utmost importance in developing Rothenstein as a critic and interpreter. They confirmed his intuitions on the nature of Indian art and encouraged him to reduce them to writing. Even more they gave him a sense of India without which all writing on Indian sculpture or painting is liable to be thin, abstract or airy. But before we discuss his exact contribution it is necessary to refer to one outstanding result of his visit—his friendship with Rabindranath Tagore. While in India Rothenstein met and even made drawings of Rabindranath, but so great was his interest in the artists that he failed to appreciate the poet. Yet his genius for friendship must have been evident, for when Rabindranath visited England in 1912 it was inevitable that Rothenstein should welcome and befriend him. We can gain some idea of what this friendship meant to Rabindranath from his various letters. It obviously assisted him in finding his bearings. It gave him a home in England, but even more it provided him with a sensitive companion who was entirely convinced of his greatness as a poet. This conviction led Rothenstein to sponsor Tagore's translations, to provide him with a poet-critic in W. B. Yeats and to induce the India Society to publish *Gitanjali*. The

impact of this book was so phenomenal that a commercial edition was launched by Macmillans and the book was later awarded the Nobel prize. Out of this award and the appreciation which it symbolized grew Tagore's whole place in European thought. Yet without the affection of Rothenstein, his determined support, his active canvassing and above all his consuming belief in Rabindranath's greatness, Tagore would never have reached an English public or become an international figure. In so far as the modern respect for Indian culture derives from Rabindranath, the credit is due to Rothenstein and to him alone.

There is one further corollary to his visit which we should notice. We have seen how when meeting the young artists of the neo-Bengal school Rothenstein was intensely moved by their general plight. During 1928 he tried “to persuade his friends at the India Office to direct the attention of the Viceroy and the wealthier princes to the desirability of providing work for Indian artists, who suffered much from lack of encouragement.” He even suggested “something in the nature of an Eisteddfod, to be held every five years in a different province, where poets, musicians and painters might come together and be, in some manner, acclaimed and recompensed.”⁸ He believed also that “if Indian artists could be employed on work with a content likely to encourage a larger vision and a livelier handling, vitality might return to Indian painting,” for he realized that “the so-called traditional methods and subjects had none of the vigour which some of the humble village families of painters still retained.”⁹ With this end he was asked by the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, to go to Delhi and advise on the decoration by Indian artists of the new legislative building in Delhi. Ill-health prevented him from accepting this invitation, but he was then asked to select four artists from a group of six chosen in India to decorate India House in Aldwych. He did so, and as a result four artists of the Bengal school were given training in mural painting at the Royal College of Art and under

Rothenstein's general direction carried out the murals. When the artists had returned to India Rothenstein again tried to help them by writing to Lord Willingdon and asking for further work to be given them. The actual contribution made by these artists to modern Indian painting is not very considerable, but that is hardly the point. Alone of all the Englishmen who professed to be interested in Indian culture Rothenstein gave some practical support. He spent time and energy in assisting these modern artists, and as a result, whatever we may think of the particular paintings, the modern movement in Indian art, which was later to produce such important artists as Amrita Sher-Gil, Jamini Roy and George Keyt, was very greatly strengthened.

We must now examine his rôle in widening the Western appreciation of Indian art. Prior to his visit to India and throughout his stay in the country it was clear that he possessed one enormous advantage—an artistic sensibility which had been developed not merely by looking at works of art but by the actual processes of creation. It is not surprising, therefore, that when he framed his views on Indian sculpture a sharp difference was apparent between his own approach and that of Havell and Coomaraswamy. These two great critics had both regarded Indian art from the view-point of religion. They had used religion as a means for demonstrating its value and as a result their assessment of a particular work of art was often strangely divorced from its æsthetic appeal. Havell in particular was so impressed by Buddhism and at the same time was so allergic to Hinduism that virtually only Buddhist sculpture engaged his attention. To Rothenstein such an approach was incomprehensible. He regarded Indian art as of quite exceptional importance, but almost entirely because of its character as art, and in an essay written in 1926 he stated his position with decisive clarity:

“It is difficult for us to realize the extraordinary copiousness of Indian pro-

ductiveness. Yet of the artists who conceived and the craftsmen who carved, scarcely any records exist. Mr. Havell and Dr. Coomaraswamy would have us believe they were men of a high spirituality. No doubt many of them had strong religious convictions; but it is unlikely that they differed from other artists who regard the appearance of things as being the simplest solution of the problem of existence. The sense of form in Indian sculpture is its distinguishing feature. It has already been observed that the artist has always accepted the subject-matter imposed on him by his employers and that his gifts were used to give life and a powerful and ordered form to men's spiritual and social life. The Indian craftsman served many masters, Buddhist, Brahmin and Kshatriya, giving a form to what was fluid and transient. Not the least powerful of these forms were evolved in the medieval period when Hinduism adopted a Tantric aspect. . . . I doubt whether anything lovelier has been made by the hand of man than the Indian medieval temples.”¹⁰

Rothenstein then went on to make three important assertions. He protested, in the first place, against the over-valuation of Gandhara sculpture, Buddhist though it might be:

“It is not easy to conceive how the somewhat clumsy and provincial Gandhara carvings can be preferred to the dignified, supple and exquisitely carved figures which ornamented the temples at Mathura, Sarnath or Amaravati. . . . We do not rate highly indifferent Græco-Roman works we find in Europe. Why then should we value them so much more when we discover them in Asia?”

Secondly, he drew attention to a type of Indian sculpture which possessed the greatest qualities as art and which he insisted must be valued as a supreme expression of human form:

“In the apsara figures, the Indian artist expressed the shy grace and sensitive-

ness of the feminine spirit detached from homestead or household. That this appreciation of a delicate side of physical life was interpreted as a symbol of the soul desiring union with God, it is not difficult to understand. But the motive which led to this conception in the Bharhut and Sanchi carvings may well have been the natural love of human form felt by all artists. Doubtless it was not in this simple spirit that their work was received by a priestly caste or by the worshippers who thronged the temples. Today we look at the apsara figures at Sanchi, Badami and Ellora or at the loveliest of all, the medieval carvings at Kanarak, Bhuvaneshwar and Khajuraho, and accept them gratefully with the figures from Botticelli's *Primavera* as enchanting manifestations of man's delight in human beauty."¹¹

Thirdly, he emphasized the greatness as sculpture of the Kushan figures from Mathura:

"The figures and fragments preserved at Mathura are plastically among the most significant in India. Here we find third-dimensional forms so interesting to the contemporary mind, conceived with singular power. The Mathura carvers were not only eminent in spiritual interpretation; their curiosity for form allowed them to create masterpieces of an unusually secular character. They were the forerunners of the medieval artists and show how deeply rooted was the character of Indian æsthetic culture, whatever creed it served."¹²

And in another passage:

"Here was an art which was the reverse of spiritual. Never has the radiance, the unity of form, been better expressed in sculpture than in these strangely fascinating sensual figures. Here indeed one gets the sense of volume combined with grace."¹³

Sanchi, Bharhut, Mathura; Kanarak, Bhuvaneshwar, Khajuraho—these, then, were for Rothenstein the greatest expressions of Indian sculpture, and while we should

nowadays add one or two more categories the valuation as a whole still stands. It is certainly these groups of Indian sculpture which possess the most intense appeal for contemporary minds and it is to Rothenstein that we owe the first assertion of their great æsthetic importance.

But sculpture was not the only side of Indian art in which he appears as the creator of modern taste. Prior to his visit to India he had already succumbed to the charms of Hindu painting. His reactions are nowhere directly expressed, but we know that throughout his life he was especially sensitive to drawing, and an art so obviously dependent on line must have immediately thrilled him. Moreover, as early as 1907 he had shown himself responsive to "the swift nervous vitality of (Western) medieval forms." "Those tall swaying figures with their smiling faces bending over the infant Christ, their long clinging draperies so exquisitely designed, so energetically yet sensitively carved, had about them an unexampled vitality."¹⁴ From such expressions of Western sensibility to Pahari paintings it was obviously only a short step. It is significant, however, that whereas in the case of sculpture Rothenstein expressed his appreciation in writing, his admiration for painting took the form of collecting actual examples. For doing this his visit to India must have been profoundly important, for there he not only saw the private collection of Abanindranath Tagore but was also introduced to the dealers of Amritsar, through whose activities Pahari pictures were first discovered. In the years that followed, the arrival at Far Oakridge, his Gloucestershire home, of a hessian parcel, heavily sealed, containing pictures for his approval, never failed to cause excitement as its coverings were unwrapped and the contents disclosed.

It is this quality of personal choice, of artistic decision, which gives the Rothenstein collection of Indian paintings its quite exceptional importance. It is true that not every picture is of first-rate significance, but the collection as a whole is of the nature

of a critical essay. Rothenstein must undoubtedly have responded to paintings from Rajputana proper, and he seems also to have appreciated Mughal pictures. But these are the least important of his paintings and it is rather as a highly original and stimulating selection of Pahari styles that the collection is significant. It is noteworthy, for example, that although the Kangra school is represented by fifteen pictures, it is other schools which seem chiefly to have fired his enthusiasm. The collection, in fact, is an exercise in æsthetic taste. The pictures widen our knowledge of Indian styles. They demonstrate novel and unusual modes of expression (and perhaps for that very reason they are sometimes exceptionally difficult to classify). For their æsthetic qualities alone, special attention should be paid to the series of pictures (Nos. 16-24), which incidentally raise somewhat thorny problems in attribution; to Nos. 30-31, which throw new light on the little-known school of Punch; and to Nos. 25-27, which have already been much discussed but which are almost certainly from Guler. Other important groups are Nos. 32-34,

which are clearly not from Kangra and are still of unknown provenance; Nos. 35-39, which comprise yet another undecided series but which are possibly from Kashmir; and Nos. 53-59, which provide a magnificent cross-section of Sikh art. All these pictures give us a most valuable view of painting in the Punjab Himalayas and suggest the extremely intricate pattern of influences which must have been operating in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But apart from their value for the history of Indian art, the paintings demand appreciation simply as pictures. With their subtle harmonies of colour, their rhythmical line, their evocation of sentiment they open the door to a world of romantic poetry which was totally unsuspected in 1900. And it may well prove that in forming this collection Rothenstein made his most permanent and valuable contribution to the modern appreciation of Indian art. Certainly the existence of the collection as a whole is even now proving of the greatest value for students of Indian culture, and the devoted care with which Lady Rothenstein has preserved it demands the gratitude of our generation.

REFERENCES

- ¹ *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, February, 1910, 286.
- ² Sir W. Rothenstein: *Men and Memories: 1900-1922*, (London, 1932), 230-231.
- ³ *Ibid.*, 242.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 248.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 247.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 240.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 251.
- ⁸ Sir W. Rothenstein: *Since Fifty* (London, 1939), 172-175.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*

- ¹⁰ W. Rothenstein: "An Essay on Indian Sculpture," introduction to K. de B. Codrington: *Ancient India*, (London, 1926), 5.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 4.
- ¹³ Sir W. Rothenstein: "The Genius of Indian Sculpture," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, February, 1938.
- ¹⁴ Sir W. Rothenstein: *Men and Memories: 1900-1922*, 118-119.

CATALOGUE OF THE SIR WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN COLLECTION OF INDIAN PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS

*Exhibited, in conjunction with the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society, at the
Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum,*

By courtesy of Lady Rothenstein

1. Radha and Krishna playing ball. Kangra: c. 1790.
2. Sudama, the devout Brahmin, sup-
plicating Krishna. Kangra: c. 1790.
3. A lady asleep, with her maids sleeping
about her. Kangra: c. 1790.
4. Sita bestowing the winner's garland
on Ram after the contest in archery. Illustra-
tion to the *Ramayana*. Kangra: c. 1790.
5. The winter season; lovers dallying.
Kangra: c. 1810.
6. Krishna detaining Radha. Kangra:
c. 1840.
7. The toilet. Kangra: c. 1790.
8. Lady awaiting her lover. Kangra:
c. 1820.
9. The swing. Kangra: c. 1790.
10. Durga slaying Maheshasura, the buf-
falo demon. Kangra: c. 1820.
11. Sudama put to bed after his hovel
has been changed to a palace by Krishna.
Kangra: c. 1870.
12. Sudama seated with his wife in their
hovel. Kangra: c. 1870.
13. Lovers by a river. Kangra: c. 1840.
14. Radha and Krishna in the rain.
Kangra: c. 1850.
15. Ladies of a Rajput household re-
ceiving news of their lord's death. Kangra:
c. 1810.
16. Radha with maid approaching a
bedchamber. Basohli: 1695.
17. Krishna addressing Radha, who holds
a tassel of his sleeve. Basohli(?): c. 1695.
18. Krishna, with male companion, wait-
ing for Radha. Basohli: early eighteenth
century.
19. Lady with donkey. Basohli: c. 1810.
20. Lovers feeding deer. Basohli (?):
c. 1780.
21. Lady at her toilet. Basohli(?): c. 1780.
22. Kali seated on Siva; Brahma and
Krishna in attendance; jackals and vultures
devouring corpses. Basohli: eighteenth
century.
23. Lady welcoming a lover. Basohli(?)
eighteenth century.
24. The lover arriving. Basohli(?): eight-
eenth century.
25. Lady conversing with a messenger.
Guler: c. 1760.
26. Vaikunth, the heaven of Vishnu.
Guler: c. 1760.
27. The unveiling of Draupadi. Guler:
c. 1740.
28. Two men on a camel, with ladies
bidding them goodbye. Illustration to the
Northern Indian ballad of *Sassi and Punnun*.
Pahari: eighteenth century.
29. Lady waiting for her lover. Pahari:
c. 1770.
30. A bashful lady conducted to her lover.
Punch: c. 1820.
31. Ruler entertained by dancing-girls.
Punch: c. 1770.
32. The cat and the parrot. Pahari:
c. 1830.
33. Lady waiting for her lover. Pahari:
c. 1830.
34. Radha with Krishna's messenger.
Pahari: c. 1830.
35. Ladies with a fawn. Pahari: late
eighteenth century.
36. Vishnu on the great snake. Pahari:
late eighteenth century.
37. Durga enthroned. Pahari: first half
of nineteenth century.
38. Lady braving the night to keep a
tryst. Pahari: c. 1830.
39. Lady with confidant. Pahari: c. 1830.



THE WINTER SEASON: LOVERS DALLING
Kangra, *ca.* 1810 (No. 5).



THE CAT AND THE PARROT
Pahari, *circa* 1830 (No. 32).



LADY LISTENING TO A VINA
Pahari, circa 1770 (No. 16).



LADY BRAVING THE NIGHT TO KEEP A TRYST

Pahari, circa 1830 (No. 38).



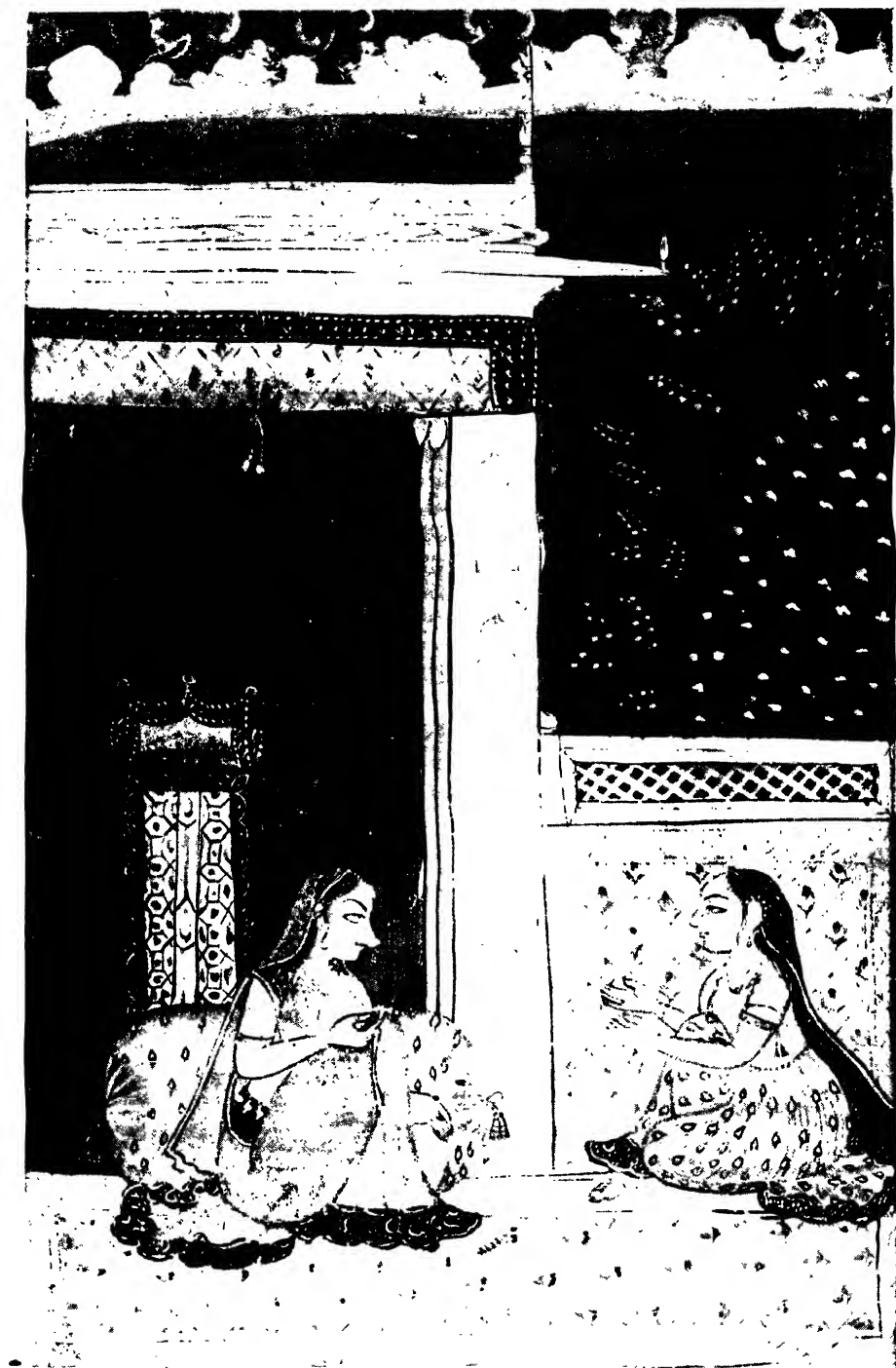
LOVERS FEEDING DEER
Basohli (?), circa 1780 (No. 20).



SIKH PRINCE TIGER-SHOOTING
Sikh School, end of eighteenth century (No. 59).



PORTRAIT OF KHARAK SINGH
Sikh School, *circa* 1840 (No. 58).



LADY WITH CONFIDANT
Pahari, *circa* 1830 (No. 39).

40. Radha and Krishna in the forest; Radha wearing Krishna's crown. Pahari: late eighteenth century.
41. Krishna with the cowherds. Mandi(?): c. 1800.
42. Prince with children. Pahari: c. 1770.
43. Court scene. Pahari: c. 1780.
44. Ruler smoking, attended by ladies. Pahari: c. 1730.
45. Duenna conversing with a lady. Pahari: c. 1780.
46. Lady listening to a vina. Pahari: c. 1770.
47. A nobleman smoking. Pahari: c. 1770.
48. Prince with Hawk. Pahari: c. 1770.
49. Hill ruler with followers. Pahari: c. 1770.
50. Nobleman on a terrace. Pahari: c. 1770.
51. Raja examining the points of a horse by torchlight. Pahari: c. 1770.
52. Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra (1775-1823). Lahore: c. 1840.
53. Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra (1775-1823). Sikh school: c. 1840.
54. Sikh horsemen hunting boar and deer. Sikh school: c. 1810.
55. Sikh with lady in a garden pavilion. Sikh school: c. 1840.
56. Portrait of a young Sikh seated on a European chair. Sikh school: c. 1840.
57. Hill ruler receiving a party of Sikhs. Sikh school: c. 1840.
58. Portrait of Kharak Singh, successor of Ranjit Singh. Sikh school: c. 1840.
59. Sikh prince tiger-shooting. Sikh school: end of eighteenth century.
60. Portrait of a Saiyid. Bijapur: c. 1650.
61. Young Persian with Mughal prince. Deccani: early eighteenth century.
62. Krishna abducting Radha during worship. Central India: end of eighteenth century.
63. Ladies occupying their time inside a Rajput house. Udaipur: c. 1800.
64. Mughal courtier. Mughal (Jahangir period): c. 1615.
65. Courtier with lance on horseback. Hyderabad (?): end of eighteenth century.
66. Jahangir's court wrestler, named "the white elephant." By Manohar. Mughal (Jahangir period): c. 1615.
67. Domestic scene. Delhi (?): c. 1820.
68. Kabir, the poet-mystic, seated at his loom. Lahore (?): c. 1850.
69. Portrait of a nobleman. Delhi: c. 1750.
70. Four ascetics. By Hunhar. Mughal (Shah Jahan period): c. 1650.
71. Portrait of the Caliph Uthman. Mysore (?): end of eighteenth century.
72. Portrait of Nawab Khan Durrani. Delhi: c. 1750.
73. Muslim religious teachers with attendant. Mysore (?): end of eighteenth century.
74. The love-god aiming a lotus arrow at a lady. Central India: c. 1750.
75. Prince visiting a hermitage. Delhi: c. 1790.
76. Jungle-folk hunting by night. Delhi: c. 1780.
77. Ship and crew being swallowed by a sea-monster. Illustration to a Persian (?) romance. Kashmir (?): c. 1800.
78. The lady, Gulsaafa ("Pure Rose"). Hyderabad (with Jaipur influence): c. 1770.
79. The lady, Durkush ("Bed of Pearls"). Hyderabad (with Jaipur influence): c. 1770.
80. Lady with a red bird. Hyderabad (with Jaipur influence): c. 1770.
81. Ladies with parrot and vina. By Sitaran. Hyderabad: c. 1720.
82. Warrior in armour on horseback. School of Rajputana: end of eighteenth century.
83. Raja on horseback with a hawk. School of Rajputana: c. 1790.

NOTES

(1) Nos. 35-39

The provenance of these five pictures must still be regarded as problematical. Their most outstanding idioms are the square-shaped head, the rounded brow and the sharply tilted nose—which cannot be exactly paralleled in any other school of Rajputana or Pahari painting, but which are so strongly marked in all five that a common origin is apparent. No. 35, a brush drawing of two ladies with a fawn, is inscribed in Hindi, *Malakosedi Ragini Dhanasari*, and on the score of this Hindi inscription and Ragini subject-matter an origin in Rajputana would seem to be probable. As against this, however, the general pose and also the flow of line are distinctly Pahari in feeling, and Coomaraswamy, who reproduced it in *Rajput Painting* (i, 20, fig. 2), was sufficiently impressed by this quality that he labelled the drawing Jammu and ascribed it to the seventeenth century. In his article on the collection¹, Dr. Goetz also gave the drawing a Pahari attribution and placed it at the end of the seventeenth century. Coomaraswamy did not discuss the remaining four pictures, but Dr. Goetz reproduced two of them—Nos. 37 and 38—and treated Nos. 36 and 39 as companions of No. 38. No. 37, on the other hand, he regarded as quite distinct—an example of the Kashmir school—and placed it in the early nineteenth century.

With Dr. Goetz's dating of this last picture it would be difficult to quarrel, and in view of its obvious resemblance to the remaining four his suggestion of Kashmir may ultimately provide the clue to the whole matter. It is noteworthy that of all the pictures in the exhibition, those which I have ascribed to Punch seem closest to the series. Punch is the most northerly of all the Pahari schools and is also the closest to Srinagar, the capital of

Kashmir. In examples of Punch painting not represented in the exhibition there is an added parallel in the tangled strip of reddish-blue sky which marks the picture of the heroine braving the night (No. 38) and the study of the lady with her confidant (No. 39). On the other hand, Rajputana elements are not entirely lacking, for the lush background to the pictures, the comparative lack of precision in their drawing and also the wilder atmosphere seem slightly more in key with what is known of Rajputana art. If Kashmir is tentatively suggested, therefore, it is as much on account of its later accessibility to artists from the plains—whether from Rajputana or the Punjab—as for its nearness to the hills. The seventeenth century, however, seems far too early for such a confluence of Rajputana and Pahari idioms and I have therefore proposed some dates in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

(2) Nos. 78-81

In a note in *Rupam* (April, 1924, p. 95), O. C. Gangoly classed Nos. 78 and 79 as Mughal, but pointed out that "they are rather larger in size and in their broad and simple outlines are entirely different from the general treatment of portraits of the Mogul school. There is hardly any attempt at modelling and they approach very closely to the large-size Rajput cartoons very typically familiar in the portraits of Fadha and Krishna from Jaipur. The larger eyes and the schematic eyebrows recall the 'primitive' drawings of the series of Radha and Krishna drawings illustrated in Coomaraswamy's *Indian Drawings* (II, plates 1 to 3). In short, the language of these portraits is distinctly Rajput rather than Mogul. There is an obvious idealization of the features rather than a realistic presentation of individual traits. Yet the turbaned lady (No. 78) is represented with all her individual features."

Gangoly then referred to a picture in his

¹ H. Goetz: "Die Indischen Miniaturen der Sammlung William Rothenstein, London," *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1925), 47-59.

own possession (reproduced in the same issue) and continued: "A glance is enough to convince that the same personage is the subject-matter of both examples. The aquiline nose, the firm well-set lips, the peculiarities of the hair, and last, but not the least, the identical turban with a golden tassel or flower at the top with a pearl-drop above the brow and the pearl-ring through the ear-lobe, offer individual characteristics and habits of the personage which the artist in both these portraits deliberately reproduces. If there is any difference, it is in the age of the sitter. In the Rothenstein portrait the lady is depicted in her earlier youth, while the second portrait bears distinct traces of the mark of age. There is very little doubt that the person depicted in these two portraits is identical."

On the precise identity of this lady, however, Gangoly confessed himself baffled, and it may well be that here as in Nos. 79 to 81 we are faced with conventional versions of certain romantic figures rather than with portraits of actual persons.

On the question of provenance, Hyderabad must be taken as the most probable source. The lady in No. 81 with curly brown hair closely resembles the slim figure in cavalier's costume which is painted at the end of the lacquered casket in the Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum (No. 851—1889). This in turn is closely paralleled by a young page in European garb who appears in a picture lent by Mr. Chester Beatty to the Royal Academy Exhibition (No. 819, Commemorative Catalogue). The latter picture is signed Rahim Dakani and, if not actually painted in the Deccan, is almost certainly an expression of the Deccan style towards

the end of the seventeenth century. In the case of the present picture (No. 81), there is a slightly higher degree of formalization and a perceptible hardening of the tones which suggest a somewhat later date, and this is borne out by the treatment of the second figure shown holding a vina. The latter is closely similar in features to a lady shown seated against a pillow and toying with a wine-cup—a picture in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and assigned by Dr. Moti Chandra to Hyderabad in the early eighteenth century. "Hyderabad, c. 1720" seems therefore to be the most likely attribution.

In the case of pictures Nos. 78 to 80, a Deccani origin is seen in the pale-green backgrounds of Nos. 78 and 79 and in the brilliant blue of No. 80. Both of these colours can be matched in Golconda portraits of the late seventeenth century, where they are employed in exactly similar manners. At the same time, Jaipur influence is plainly present in the large and eloquent eyes and in the bold majestic contours. Indeed, but for the Deccani colour, a marked overrounding of the upper eyelids and the absence of long snake-like tresses, these pictures might well have been produced in Jaipur itself. So far as is known, such an influence, however, cannot have operated earlier than the second half of the eighteenth century, and their correct date is accordingly in the neighbourhood of 1770.

(3) Nos. 16, 18, 25-27, 30-31, 42-44, 46-51.

The entries for these pictures should be regarded as provisional—pending a fuller discussion in my forthcoming *Northern Indian Painting*.

W. G. A.

SIR WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN AND HIS INDIAN CORRESPONDENCE

By KENNETH ROMNEY TOWNDROW

THE series of letters here chosen illustrate at first hand both the inception of Sir William Rothenstein's warmest feelings for India and her arts and the course, for more than twenty-five years, of a great international friendship. He was one of the few men who talked and wrote with equal conviction, and thus his interest in all serious matters was eagerly canvassed and assiduously fostered: But, unconvinced, he was one of the least tractable of men, and it is a witness to his already deeply rooted respect for Indian art that the taut, self-conscious natures of both E. B. Havell and A. K. Coomaraswamy did nothing to deflect him from his purpose, although it will be noted from Havell's letter of May 5, 1911, that Rothenstein thought seriously of withdrawing his active support from the India Society.

Havell, the pioneer, eleven years older than Rothenstein and sixteen years older than Coomaraswamy, felt deeply the rapid development of the latter's revaluation of Indian painting, especially reinforced, as it was, by an exceptional skill in written exposition. His letter to Rothenstein, many years later, of November 26, 1932, proves how his differences with Coomaraswamy had rankled, as he points out: "It is not correct that Coomaraswamy was the first to discriminate between Mogul & other schools of Indian painting. . . . Long before Coomaraswamy came to India, I tried to make the differences clear in the classification of the collection I made for the Govt. Art Gallery. . . . The only difference between Coomaraswamy's classification and mine was that I called the non-Mogul schools 'Hindu,' while he labelled them 'Rajput.' However, the label has stuck and C. gets the credit of being a pioneer in Indian artistic research." But if Havell had the more stable, painstaking talent, Coomar-

aswamy had the brilliance of an original research student, with his necessarily often mundane labours lit by bright flashes of comparative criticism, as in his letter to Rothenstein of October 10, 1910: "People have a mania for thinking that everything comes from somewhere else than where you find it. I am beginning to see that the best things are always *well* rooted in the soil. I have got hold of a magnificent lot of old Rajput cartoons and tracings of miniatures. . . . Most are eighteenth century, and the best must have been earlier than that; even so, one can only think of Botticelli as giving an idea of one or two. This Hindu or Rajput art is the descendant of Ajanta, its rise and zenith and decline seem to cover at least 1,500 years. The 200 years of secular Mughal art is but a breath beside it."

Even so, it was the cause, not the men personally, that commanded Rothenstein's respect, and we may be grateful for the balance he kept by all the subtleties at his command through constant postal correspondence and, more rarely, personal contacts. The facts, also, influencing the birth and nourishment of his own interest in Indian art were bound, with his generous nature, to make him sympathetic towards others of a like interest, however aggravating were the attendant personal rivalries.

Ricketts and Shannon were his only encouragements until he was introduced to a remarkable woman artist, Christina Herringham, who burnt all but fanatically in all that she undertook. Encouraged by Laurence Binyon, Mrs. Herringham was determined to make fresh copies of the most important passages of the Ajanta Cave Temples frescoes. She already considered William Rothenstein an artist of serious significance, and now she argued that as his interest in India was already so great,

— SIR WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN AND HIS INDIAN CORRESPONDENCE

here, with the assistance of her own important preparations, was the opportunity for him to establish at first hand his still tentative enthusiasms. Incidentally, it was she, probably, with her greater experience of Indian matters, who was the link with such men as Havell and Coomaraswamy.

It is right, here, to underline the letters of the three men who had most to do with Rothenstein's later thoughts of, and contacts with, matters of Indian art and letters, but the picture as a whole could be complete only by the study of not three but many correspondents, both Indian and European, and of Rothenstein's home, as always a welcoming place for both Indian students and men of distinguished records and ambitions. Sympathetic meetings with Indians and lovers of India were legion, friendships were many, but in one case a not really remarkable first meeting became by correspondence an essential friendship, and thence, by reunion, a companionship of souls. As Rabindranath Tagore himself explained it in a letter of October 20, 1913: "Of all the friends I have in the West I think of you as the one who ought to have been born as my brother in this country, knowing that you have the power to utilize to their best purposes the opportunities that India, of all countries in the world, offers to men." Between the two men was an intuitive understanding which had no dependence whatever upon family, nation or race. They were explorers of the spirit, and on that plane together they had perfect trust. From New York on October 27, 1912, Tagore wrote back to his friend: "The thick solitude of the crowd is oppressive

to me. In London your friendship was the only refuge I had, and I cling to you with all my heart. If I had not known you I should have gone back to India not knowing Europe."

Not only William Rothenstein but his wife, Alice, and the children were all included in Tagore's regard. He wrote some of the most beautiful of poet's letters to the children, and in sending a collection of dolls and ornaments from India, he writes on March 1, 1914: "I must not tell you the price I have paid for them—for I should like to let my two princesses across the water imagine when they put them on that they have cost the seven kings of the Fairy tales their kingdoms."

This classic friendship owed nothing to sentimentality, blindness, or even the wish to avoid in its course the more painful of the episodes and problems that then divided their two countries. Tagore wrote a post-script on June 26, 1931: "I know that during my contact with you I occasionally displayed moods that must have caused you pain, but I hope you will realize that they never represented my deeper normality, that they were provoked by some jerks of time which for the moment was passing over a road badly out of repair." The two men came to depend more and more upon the eloquence of their written words, and though they met from time to time in person, evidence shows that this was no longer necessary to their essential unity. Their friendship, representing the perfect union of creative beings widely separated by physical conditions, is a worthy memorial to the future meeting of their peoples.

CORRESPONDENCE

I

E. B. HAVELL

1. 7, ST. EDMUND'S TERRACE,
PRIMROSE HILL, N.W.
27.2.10.

DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

The "protest" seems to have succeeded admirably. What is the next step to be? What do you say to asking Frampton to get for us the loan of the Lecture Theatre at Burlington House & calling a general meeting of artists, critics & authors to launch "the India Society"?

I think I could repeat the lecture on "The Ideals & Philosophy of Indian Art" which I gave to the Quest Society, as I expressly reserved the copyright.

Rhys Daniels made a very complimentary little speech & told me afterwards that the slides were quite a revelation to him. When an Oriental scholar of his standing admits that, it is evident that there is a good deal to be done in educating the public in Indian art. Mead, the President of the Quest Society, was equally astonished & said he had not the least idea that such fine things existed & he even found the four-armed figures beautiful! !

The lecture is quite different & (I think) much better than the one you heard at the Art Workers' Guild—(who, by the way, have asked me to give them a paper on "Persian Miniatures"—which I am afraid I cannot do now).

In any case I could show the slides & explain them, so that the audience could judge for themselves whether India has a "fine" art.

Please let me know what you & Rolleston think of this proposal.

Yours sincerely,
E. B. HAVELL.

2. 7, ST. EDMUND'S TERRACE,
PRIMROSE HILL, N.W.
2.3.10.

DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

Thanks for your letter. I think it would be better to have the meeting *here*, because I could then show photos of Indian Sculpture & the work of the New School, so that the people would have a better conception of what the Society could work for.

Will you fix any day & time most convenient to the majority & get the people to come? If possible it should be before Friday week, so that Swami Bhumanand may be present—he proposes to start branches of the Society in Bombay & elsewhere in India. It might develop into a really important thing.

No doubt you saw the leader in the Times yesterday—it read like Laurence Binyon. I have written a short comment on it, which will perhaps appear tomorrow. Evidently Birdwood thinks it better to hold his tongue.

With kind regards to Mrs. Rothenstein & yourself.

Yours sincerely,
E. B. HAVELL.

3. PROSPECT HOUSE,
OLD FELIXSTOWE,
SUFFOLK.
Aug. 6. 10.

MY DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

I was very glad to get your letter & to hear that you have definitely decided to go out to India in October. I am sure you'll find it a wonderful experience though you

will have so little time. You should *certainly* call on Mrs. Besant at the Central Hindu College as soon as you get there. She has lately taken much interest in artistic questions & will be keenly interested in the India Society and as she has much influence there will be able to help you in your work.

You would be glad to have talks with some of the Indian members of the College staff. Mrs. Besant would no doubt give you a letter to the Maharajah of Benares on whom you should also call; he is very pleasant & helpful & has some very good old Indian pictures in his Library—(*not* the oil paintings hanging on the walls of the Palace, of which no doubt he is chiefly proud). I am enclosing a letter of introduction to Mr. Justice Woodroffe which will be useful to you if you should go to Calcutta. You know that he is President of the Indian Society of Oriental Art & is Vice-President also. He is one in ten thousand—a born artist—and one of the few strong men at present belonging to the Anglo-Indian administration—with none whatever of the usual Anglo-Indian prejudices. I am sure he will enjoy making your acquaintance as much as you will his, & you might together make some scheme of work for the India Society.

I shall hope very much to see you before you start, but I don't know yet when I shall be back in town again. I have started work again on my book, together with my wife, & until that is finished I fear I shall not be able to do much for the Society in other ways.

Yours sincerely,

E. B. HAVELL.

4.

7, ST. EDMUND'S TERRACE,
PRIMROSE HILL, N.W.

May 5. 11.

MY DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

I fear that anyone who takes a real & practical interest in Indian affairs is bound to suffer many personal vexations: the average "educated" Indian is a queer mixture of

half-assimilated & half-forgotten ideas, and the Anglo-Indian generally resents furiously any suggestion that British rule is not a divinely ordained perfection. The present generation, Indian & Anglo-Indian, is pretty hopeless—we have to try and educate the next, or rather to show them by sympathy and fellow-feeling that East will be West and West will be East.

I believe your help is more practical and solid than any other member of the Society can give. If you retire to your tent and leave me to continue ploughing my lonely furrow, as I have been doing for the last twenty years, I shall go on as best I can—but it's rather tough.

What I wanted to discuss with you was the situation created in India by Tagore's new departure & the possibility it opens up of the Society addressing the Secretary of State on the whole question of art education in India. I enclose his letter: *please return it to me*. Then there is the question whether we should approach the Education Dept. here on the subject of S. K. Museum now, or wait until the Autumn when the political situation is less acute.

Are you going to give your lecture, or talk, on your Indian experiences?

Yours sincerely,

E. B. HAVELL.

HUIDE HUS,

HEADINGTON HILL,
OXFORD.

5.

Apl. 5. 25.

MY DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

Very many thanks for your letter. I was very glad to have your kind and generous appreciation of my work. You have done much in the India Society to help it on & though we have sometimes differed as to ways & means I have always valued your opinions very highly. There is still very much to be done. More especially in India itself where, if competent men were given a free hand, there are all the materials

for a great and real art renaissance—far more than there are in any part of Europe.

There is no hope of its being achieved in my life time now, but it has been always that firm conviction which led me to put my own art work aside and use my pen to promote the cause of Art in India. Only the politicians (confound them) make such a horrid din that it is impossible for artists to make their voices heard.

I shall still try to do what I can with the rising generation at Oxford.

Yours very sincerely,
E. B. HAVELL.

6. HUIDE HUS,
HEADINGTON HILL,
OXFORD.
Nov. 26. 32.

DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

On my return to England from Denmark I have been reading with delight and admiration your last book "Men & Memories."

There are some minor inaccuracies in the allusions to myself.

On p. 231 the lecture you went to hear was not by Sir Geo. Birdwood but by myself, on the subject of Art Administration in India. Sir G. B. was in the chair & joined in the discussion afterwards. His outburst was apropos of some of the illustrations of my "Indian Sculpture & Painting" which I exhibited in the lecture hall.

The lecture together with an expurgated report of the discussion is printed in the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts under whose auspices the lecture was given.

On p. 242, I think you must have mis-

understood what I meant about the architecture of Benares. I fully share your admiration for the wonderful scene on the Ghats, as you will see if you read my book on Benares. I only meant that (with the exception of the two magnificent modern palaces at Munshi Ghat & close by) there is very little first class architecture in the temples built to replace those destroyed by Aurangzib. But of course the *tout ensemble* of the ghats is amazingly impressive.

P. 231. It is not correct that Coomaraswamy was the first to discriminate between Mogul & other schools of Indian painting. Long before Coomaraswamy came to India I tried to make the differences clear in the classification of the collection I made for the Govt. Art Gallery (which I think you did not see as it was re-arranged by Percy Brown before you went to India). The only difference between Coomaraswamy's classification & mine was that I called the non-Mogul schools "Hindu" while he labelled them "Rajput"—a territorial classification which is too narrow & rather misleading as there are many Hindu schools which are not Rajput. However the label has stuck & C. gets the credit of being a pioneer in Indian artistic research, just as the Bengali Nationalists declare that Abanindranath was my teacher instead of pupil. He was quite ignorant of Indian art when I first knew him & did not get on to the right track until I showed him the collection I made for the Govt. Art Gallery & persuaded him to work under my guidance for a time.

If you come to Oxford at any time I shall be very glad to have a talk.

With kind regards to Lady Rothenstein & yourself.

Yours sincerely,
E. B. HAVELL.

II

A. K. COOMARASWAMY

I. EXHIBITION,
ALLAHABAD.
18.9.10.

DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

It was good to hear from you, Aug. 28, and will be still better to see you so soon. As I told Mrs. H. I am engaging tent accommodation Jan. 5-10 at Camp, Exhibition, provisionally for 2 men & 3 ladies subject to confirmation by Mrs. H. when she arrives Bombay.

It has been a hot time but very interesting travelling about the last 3 months. I have collected many good pictures and stayed with many dear and beautiful Indians. There is nothing like the peace and stillness of the real ones. I can give you letters to some, especially Benares & Calcutta. But I also strongly recommend a visit to Lucknow to see dancing there. A boy of 18, pupil of India's most famous dancer, is so beautiful and so static. These conventional gesture dances, symbolizing all religion in a Radha-Krishna action-language are the most wonderful things in the world, have all the quality of Hindi poetry. This is so wonderfully trenchant—when we loved, the edge of a sword was too wide for us to lie on, but now a sixty foot bed is too narrow. Another song says with exquisite absurdity "Had I known that love brings pain, I must have proclaimed with beat of drum, that none should love." How many philosophers have proclaimed that all sorrow is bound up with desire, and how futile save for the few that escape, like electrons from an atom, these proclamations by beat of drum.

You will find Woodroffe a splendid person, a real student and thinker, and one, who knows how to make his immediate environment beautiful.

I cannot make my home in England any

more for a time. After a year in Europe next year I shall live here most of the time for 10 years.

I wonder if you will go so far as Lahore. I expect not. You too ought to be here for years. I have never felt the land so much before. I feel the intense thinness of English life in contrast. There is such a deep emotional and philosophical religious background to this. There is, or in the ideal life at least is not any meaningless activity.

Learn all the Hindustani you can. It is really easy. Especially pronounce all vowels as Continental and learn to pronounce consonants after. Forbes' Hindustani Manual (Crosby Lockwood, 3/6) is good.

I don't think you'll get much out of Monier Williams. The Bhagavad gita is the first thing. Then Laws of Manu, Tiruvacagam, and such books. But this will not reach you in time, and anyhow you will find it easier to read up the matter after you've been here than now.

When in Bombay, drive through the Marwari bazaar. There is very little else to see in the place, *comparatively* speaking.

You ought to see Agra for the architecture, but can very well omit Delhi.

Yours,

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

I forget if I said buy a holdall, pillows and sheets & a thin mattress (razar) for railway travelling, at Bombay. Second class travelling is *sometimes* quite bearable, though more crowded. Also more interesting because you are generally with Indians. I have a very good servant myself and he recommends a man, I shall send him to you in Bombay, better by him, but no one will do quite all you want in the way of guidance and explanation! And remember to be quite strict in money matters.

CORRESPONDENCE II COOMARASWAMY

2.

UDAIPUR.

10.10.1910.

DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

I shall probably just have time to see you in Bombay on 27th as I am passing through after a tour in Rajputana. You must really go to Jaipur to see the *people*. The whole country is full of beauty and romance, so different from the British parts. I should almost recommend a night or a few hours at Ajmere to see the marble pavilions on the edge of the lake. Shah Jahan must have been a supreme artist—everything he had to do with is marvellous, and his reign marks the zenith of Mughal art.

I find the indigenous element in this art even larger than I surmised, and the Persian element very much smaller. People have a mania for thinking that everything comes from somewhere else than where you find it. I am beginning to see that the best things are always *well* rooted in the soil. I have got hold of a magnificent lot of old Rajput cartoons and tracings of miniatures—I can't tell you how beautiful some of them are. Most are 18th century, and the best must have been earlier than that, even so, one can only think of Botticelli as giving an idea of one or two. This Hindu or Rajput art is the descendant of Ajanta, its rise and zenith and decline seem to cover at least 1,500 years. The 200 years of secular Mughal art is but a breath beside it. This is a beautiful Rajput city on a lake. I have been over the Palace, pure white marble. No furniture at all in the Raja's apartments. How different the old idea of luxury. We have no conception now of what luxury can be—we know only comfort. It seems to me that we have lost in nothing, more than in our ideal of pleasure.

You will find me alone. My wife had to go home on certain family affairs, and the question of economy also had to be considered. I have been spending more than all my possessions on pictures. I expect we shall make great changes.

It will be good to see you at Allahabad.

You will have to help judge some pictures, etc. I suppose you will come about Jan. 5-10 or thereabouts.

When in Bombay the only thing of interest is to drive through the Marwari Bazaar. I will see you soon after arrival however.

Yrs,

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

3.

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT,

U. P. EXHIBITION ASSOCIATION,
ALLAHABAD.

22.1.1911.

DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

As per your wire, expect you here 24th at midday. Shall send servant to station to bring you here. We shall go to see Miss Fyzee same afternoon as she is leaving next day.

Enclosed may help to explain the pictures here. I am sorry when I wrote the 2 big books I did not quite realize the relative importance of the Rajput school. Now I see it is really *the* great thing and the other in spite of its wonderful and beautiful qualities, lesser. I did not want to say this then either because it might seem (and unfortunately even now may seem) Hindu prejudice. However I am quite sure of it and the conviction has grown quite slowly & surely in me.

Looking forward to seeing you. I have much to talk of and am very sad.

Yours,

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

4.

THE MANOR HOUSE,
BRITFORD,

NR. SALISBURY.

29.12.14.

DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

Thanks for your two notes. I quite agree that criticism and appreciation are not a permanent compensation for creation.

However, the Lord made critics as well as artists, I suppose: and they feel bound to get justice done for the works that have touched them most. This necessity which they feel *may* be the means of creating beauty in their own work.

The more austere Indian poetry which is at the same time fully poetical would be found I take it in the Saiva and Sakla hymns. I would gladly work at these if I could find a suitable collaborator. However I think it is still very necessary to present the typical Vaisnava work. Even the *Manchester Guardian* declared last year that Tagore was the first Indian poet to love life and to believe in physical beauty! It is a natural transition for me from the Vaisnava paintings to the Vaisnava literature, and I shall probably do more of it. I have in hand a big work on Rajput Painting which it is almost settled will be published by the Clarendon Press. In this connection if you have any new important Rajput Paintings which I could see, or photos of them, I should be very pleased, as the very last subjects are just going in for reproduction now.

I wish there was any chance of having a good museum in India. If they would only ask me to undertake it—perhaps at Delhi—I should feel I had got one of two things I really could do well. I also regret there is no place to which I can present or bequeath my own collection. The other sort of work I should like would be to be a Professor of “Indian” at a Western University—but that idea would seem absurdly fanciful to most people.

Meanwhile I have also undertaken a book on Buddha and Buddhism for Harrap. I regret that some of Tagore’s Buddhist pictures (which I think really very bad) will be used again in this, however it can’t be helped.

Yours very sincerely,

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

Do you think Kabir is genuinely lyrical, or good only for his ideas?

5.

THE MANOR HOUSE,
BRITFORD,
NR. SALISBURY.

5.1.15.

DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

I am very glad to have the Kabir translations. They seem to me much more *authentic* than Rabindranath. You know of course Westcott’s book on “Kabir & the Kabir Panth”? I don’t think it is at all *certain* that Kabir is a Moslem name—there are several Hindi poets called Kaviraj, Kabirai, etc.

I forgot to say Vishnu did not care for English housework & I suppose felt home-sick so we had to send him home—much to our regret, partly as we had of course to pay his fare both ways without having him long.

With regard to Vidyapati, I should like to add to what I said before, that I think that sort of literature is of value to modern Europe quite apart from the mysticism—as an education in love: also to remind us that Muhammed could have been perfectly *sincere* when he said “Three things he had loved, Perfume, Woman and Prayer but the last most.” Kabir is a prophet. But Vidyapati is an artist and seems to me to carry out the Kabir doctrine of seeing the physical and spiritual as one thing.

I think 7/6 is a good price to charge for the Kabir volume. By the way it is a pity they don’t have a committee to elect members. I proposed several in the course of the autumn, and by not electing them we have already lost one year’s subscription.

Yours sincerely,

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

P.S. In case you think of sending any pictures or photos which might be suitable for “Rajput Painting” it ought to be *now*, as I am just sending the last for reproduction.

CORRESPONDENCE II COOMARASWAMY

6. 69, LANCASTER GATE, W.
18.1.16.

DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

Many thanks for your letter and for the book of drawings which will no doubt reach me shortly: also for the introductions which we value.

As to the Ajanta article I appreciated it very much—as you will see by the fact that I have quoted from it at some length in my book on Buddhism (already in page proof), but it did not occur to me you would like me to write about it. You have always been very kind in giving me encouragement and helping me to an appreciation of the finest qualities in art at a time when I was far more inexperienced than now, and I should be sorry to appear ungrateful.

As you do not say otherwise, Rajput Painting is being sent to you direct, and I look forward to seeing your review of it later on. I think you will like it.

With thanks and kind regards from us both.

Yours very sincerely,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

7. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS,
BOSTON,
MASS.
March 14, 1924.

MY DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

I was very pleased to hear from you. We have here the largest series of photographs of Indian architecture & sculpture in the world, I believe, but of course these are only available for study here. I have thought of various large books on Indian art to be done some day, but I am not ready yet—there is much ground to be cleared. Mean-

while I will get prints made of a dozen or so of the photographs most likely to suit you, and send them on.

I am fairly well settled here. I have been once to India (& Japan, Java, Cambodia) and expect to go again soon. I like America, especially the open country, and go fishing in Maine every summer. I have been riding and fishing in the Wild West too and like that still better.

I learnt of Arunachalani's death the same day your letter came.

I have taken up photography pretty thoroughly. In this connection I have come to know and greatly admire Alfred Stieglitz and have been the means of incorporating 27 of his photographs in our Print Department.

Yes on the whole I have the life I like best (of what one can reasonably expect) here. Perhaps I would prefer an endowment enabling me to spend 10 years studying and photographing the Oriental Theatre!

I have allowed myself to be divorced & have married a very beautiful & distinguished girl who amongst other things is familiar with Javanese dancing. Most of my books are out of print: but I have still much to say—growing more and more inclined to *exact* study rather than "appreciation." I am deeply interested in old Hindi and work much at it, especially of late at the unpublished poems describing Ragas and Raginis.

I do not know anything of Codrington (unless he be ex-Ceylon Civil Service) and hope he will become a serious "Indianist." There is so much to be learnt still.

I must close—for in response to your enquiries I seem to have written all about myself. With kindest regards to you & Mrs. Rothenstein.

Very sincerely,
A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

III

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

1. 3 VILLAS ON THE HEATH,
VALE OF HEALTH,
HAMPSTEAD.
7 June, 1912.

DEAR MR. ROTHENSTEIN,

I send you some more of my poems rendered into English. They are far too simple to bear the strain of translation but I know you will understand them through their faded meanings.

Very sincerely yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

2. BUTTERTON VICARAGE,
NEWCASTLE,
STAFFS.
5 August, 1912.

DEAR MR. ROTHENSTEIN,

From the above you will know my address. I am still waiting for yours, having lost the little note I got from Mrs. Rothenstein.

The weather here is not an ideal summer weather but the country round is beautiful and our host and hostess are nice people. So I have nothing to complain of. But I have made a discovery since I came here that I had grown fond of Hampstead without being aware of it. The reason of it was that while there I could easily go to a place which was dear to me and it gave me a purpose in my daily life in London. You must have a central attraction if you want to save yourself from the distraction of having nothing particular to look forward to. It is really this one definite attraction that makes everything else attractive. I miss here that nucleus of love that made each of my London days so complete. I am sure that the best thing I could carry back home from my travels would be the memory of

those happy days in your dear neighbourhood.

My daughter-in-law has the knack of making herself loved by all with her quiet ways and sweet manners. And I can see she is making her way into the heart of these good people here. The country air has done her good and all traces of the fever she had in London has left her.

I hope you are enjoying your holidays and shaking off your fatigue. I am sure the dear children are having a jolly time of it in the country. When last evening the people of this house went to church leaving Pratima and myself alone in the drawing-room to have a good long talk in Bengali after a long time, the first objects of our conversation were your children. Give them our love, and kindly remember us to Mrs. Rothenstein.

Ever yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

3. HERALD SQUARE HOTEL,
34TH STREET & BROADWAY,
NEW YORK.
27th October, 1912.

DEAR FRIEND,

The first half of our voyage was frightfully rough. I promised a sonnet to the sea god if he behaved decently but I suppose he had not faith in human nature and knew I would forget all about it directly I reached land safely. However, he made amends at last and we had some very beautiful days. Altogether our voyage across the Atlantic was as unsatisfactory and uninteresting outwardly as it possibly could be, still I had some moments of most profound peace and sweetness which my physical suffering seemed to intensify than otherwise. Misery has the effect of creating a sort of night of intense loneliness through which

CORRESPONDENCE III TAGORE

shine all the true lights which have been gathered in the depths of one's life. One should have occasions to know them.

We have landed in New York this morning and passed through the ordeals of the custom house. My turban attracted the notice of a Newspaper interviewer and he attacked me with questions but I was almost as silent as my turban. This was my first taste of America—the custom house and the interviewer.

Each time I come to a city like New York or London I discover afresh that in my veins courses the blood of my ancestors who were forest dwellers. The thick solitude of the crowd is oppressive to me. In London your friendship was the only refuge I had, and I cling to you with all my heart. If I had not known you I should have gone back to India not knowing Europe. It fills me with wonder when I think how by a merest chance I came to know you and in what a short time your friendship has become a part of my life.

Give our love to dear children and our warmest regards to Mrs. Rothenstein. Ever yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

land, meet with some experience of life which is not temporary and superficial fills me with wonder and gratitude. It is to me a gift from the divine source and I shall know how to value it.

I am so glad to learn from your letter that my book has been favourably criticized at the *Times Literary Supplement*. I hope the paper has been forwarded to me and I shall see it in a day or two. My happiness is all the more great because I know such appreciations will bring joy to your heart. In fact, I feel that the success of my book is your own success. But for your assurance I never could have dreamt that my translations were worth anything and up to the last moment I was fearful lest you should be mistaken in your estimation of them and all the pains you have taken over them should be thrown away. I am extremely glad that your choice has been vindicated and you will have the right to take pride in your friend, supported by the best judges in your literature. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Rothenstein and give our love to the children.

Ever your affectionate friend,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

4. 508 W. HIGH STREET,
URBANA,
ILLINOIS,
U.S.A.
19 Nov. 1912.

MY DEAR MR. ROTHENSTEIN,

Your two letters of the same date amply made up for the long delay and eager waiting. They are delightful. I thought I had come to that age when doors to my inner theatre must be closed and no more new admission could be possible. But the impossible has happened and you have made my life larger by your friendship. I feel its truth and its preciousness all the more because it came to me so unexpectedly and in a surrounding not familiar to me at all. That I should, while travelling in a foreign

5. 508 W. HIGH STREET,
URBANA,
ILLINOIS.
23 Nov. 1912.

DEAR FRIEND,

I send you with this letter a translation of a prose speech of mine. It reminded me when I got it of a rainy evening at Bolpur and the eager faces of the boys listening to me in that hall of the temple, dimly lit by a few hurricane lanterns. I can not tell you how intense with emotion was that hour and how deep was our communion with nature around us. Of course the speech was not written down at that moment and it gives you only the outline.

Many thanks for the *Times Supplement*

you sent to me. The review of my book is more than I could hope for. Indeed, it is very generous.

But I have not yet got the parcel of my books which I am expecting every day. I hope they have been sent before this.

The evening is cloudy and it is cold. It is so still and quiet. I have been thinking of you all and that is my only excuse for writing you these few lines.

I am, dear friend, Ever yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

6. 508 W. HIGH STREET,
URBANA,
ILLINOIS.
30 Dec. 1912.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

How glad I am to get your letter! Round me I have an abundance of sunshine and quiet hours and your friendly greetings seem to make them brilliantly alive to me.

Ruthi and Pratima have gone to Chicago. I had several invitations to go there but I have succeeded in warding them off. I have not come to discover America or to be discovered by Americans. All I want is a few months of restful obscurity if possible. So just now I am busily active in rescuing myself from all kinds of possible engagements. Fortunately my ill health has been a real help to me—has almost acted like a wife in bluntly saying no to all intruders. I passed some very bad days lately and went through acute physical sufferings. But it had its compensation. It seemed to me like an embrace which shut off everything else except the presence which was nearest, and a fountain of sweetness sprung up from the hidden depth because the opening was narrowed from all sides.

Please thank Mrs. Moore for me for her review in the Nation. I appreciate it very much for she has written it with true understanding. These poems of mine are very

different from other literary productions of the kind. They are revelations of my true self to me. The literary man was a mere amanuensis—very often knowing nothing of the true meaning of what he was writing.

Last week I have been translating my poems, some few of which I enclose herewith. The rest I will send later on.

I am sure you have got my brother's drawings by this time and other parcels.

The news of the outrage at Delhi has come to us with a great shock. The man who is too lazy for earning honest livelihood takes to burgling, and only those who are disinclined to serve their country with useful works and patient heroism try these violent and cowardly methods and bring down fearful nemesis upon their countrymen.

Ever your friend,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

7. 2970 GROVELAND AVENUE,
CHICAGO.
28th Feb. 1913.

DEAR FRIEND,

I am on my way to Urbana from my lecturing engagement at Harvard University. Just at present I am staying with Mrs. Moody in Chicago till the end of this week.

I think I have told you in my last letter that my lectures have been very well received and I am requested to print them in book form. In the meanwhile I have sent my paper on the Problem of Evil to the Editor of the *Hibbert Journal*.

I do wish to go back to England as soon as could be arranged and then go over to India. I feel I am very much needed in my school this moment—for a wave of depression seems to have come over the people in charge of the institution in my absence. So I think I should not delay any longer. You know I have my post of the flute player—and I have been absent too long from my work. My school-people think

CORRESPONDENCE III TAGORE

it is the money that they are most in need of, but, I am sure, it is the music which they really want. I have almost persuaded Ruthi to wind up his affairs here and accompany me to England by the end of March or beginning of April.

I have given up the idea of publishing any of my poetical works in this country. At least, I will not think of it at all till I go to England and discuss it with you. I feel happy to think it will not be long before I shall see you.

Yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

come out and know the people here I should have loved them with all my heart. But I did not have the opportunity and I am certain I have not the right to judge them at all excepting through those few friends of mine whose deep earnestness and transparent simplicity have won my love. Somehow, I have an impression that America has a great mission in the history of the Western civilization; for it is rich enough not to concern itself in the greedy exploitation of weaker nations. Its hands are free and perhaps it will hold up the torch of freedom before the world.

Affectionately yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

8.

(Undated)

DEAR FRIEND,

Our date of departure has been fixed. Our steamer *Olympic* will start from New York on 12 April, so we shall reach London by the middle of this month. I cannot tell you how glad I feel to be once again near you, for which I always had a longing since I came to this country. But for the dread of the cold weather I should have been back to your place long before this. Except for lapses of very short durations I passed my time like a recluse in the little town of Urbana. I have had my ample compensation for this life of seclusion and I am glad that I have been able to protect myself from the dissipations of social success. I have gone through a series of public engagements but I have been deaf to the alluring calls of drawing-rooms. I have refused to be handled and passed on from one show to the other by the connoisseurs of Genius. The people in this country are hearty in their kindness but there is a rudeness in their touch, it is vigorous but not careful. Their admiration is not convincing therefore I could not take any delight in it as I did in your country. However, I have met with some sincere friends in America and I am deeply grateful to them. I feel sure if I had courage to

9. c/o MESSRS. THOMAS COOK & SON,
LUDGATE CIRCUS.

28th April, 1913.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I do not know why I am in London at all—it has lost its flavour and has become all South Kensington to me. I would have fled from here, but very unfortunately I have bound myself to this place till the middle of June by my lecturing engagements. It was foolish on my part to agree to this, for after all it is very unimportant—my poems are my best works and these papers will be of very little use to anybody. But wisdom comes too late and I must go through my weekly penance till I am purged of my *Karma*.

I am waiting for you to come to London when I shall hand over to you my prose papers and perhaps I shall accompany you to your country home for a few days till I am required here for my lectures.

I am spending quiet days but very little work is being done. What I most want is a little more sunshine and the presence of loving friends.

Ever yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

10. NORFOLK HOTEL,
HARRINGTON ROAD,
SOUTH KENSINGTON.
29 April, 1913.

DEAR MRS. ROTHENSTEIN,

So long as you are away we feel we have not come to England. Unless you think it fit to surrender yourselves to us in London I shall storm your solitude in the country and firmly occupy a position in the very heart of your home from which you will find it difficult to dislodge me. Please do not take it as a joke—I seriously mean it and I give you a fair warning. However, as there is the chance of our meeting next week I hope we shall be able to come to terms so as to avoid such extreme measures.

Certainly I shall keep my Tuesday evening on the 13th May free for you. Ruthi went to your Hampstead house last evening and got all the letters that were waiting for us. We are going to remove from this place to our former address—37 Alfred Place West, South Kensington. Give our love to the children.

Your affectionate friend,
RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

11. 37 ALFRED PLACE,
SOUTH KENSINGTON.
11 May, 1913.

MY DEAR MRS. ROTHENSTEIN,

You are as delightfully impossible in your chronology as a poet could wish. The dates that you have given me in your letter don't quite fit in with those of the almanac, which is a very small matter in a manual of history but slightly disconcerting in a letter of invitation. You have asked me to come on 16th *Thursday*, also on the following *Tuesday* 21st. You must explain to me whether I should follow your *days* or your *dates*, for you know how desperately helpless I am in such matters.

Your affectionate friend,
RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

12. SHANTI NIKETAN,
BOLPUR.
20th October, 1913.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I wish I had not to write to you letters but could have you by my side—for I know you would have enjoyed everything I have here around me. It has already become difficult for me to bring before my mind your October landscape dim with mist and numb with creeping cold. As I sit writing to you all the doors of my room are wide open and the stainless golden light of this late autumn is pouring in from all sides flooding my brains with its quivering stream of radiance. The glistening green of the heavy foliage of the tall *sal* trees soaring in the clear blue sky seems to me like an outburst of music from the heart of the earth. I can assure you this is the most beautiful spot of land that I can ever hope to find anywhere. I do not expect every stranger to share my enthusiasm for this place, for until one's life is in harmony with his surroundings one can never see nature in her truth. The life I have been living here for years has helped me to understand the language of the spirit of this place. In spite of the admiration I have for your civilization I cannot but wish from the depth of my heart that you could come to us in our Ashram and share our simple lives filling your leisure with utmost peace and beauty. Of all the friends I have in the west I think of you as the one who ought to have been born as my brother in this country, knowing that you have the power to utilize to their best purposes the opportunities that India, of all countries in the world, offers to men. But with all my attractions for India in its various aspects I cannot but marvel at the fact that my best friends are in England and it took some weeks for me to adjust my mind to my old familiar surroundings where you were absent.

With my best love to you,

I am ever yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

13.

SHANTI NIKETAN,
BOLPUR.
18 Nov. 1913.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

The very first moment I received the message of the great honour conferred on me by the award of the Nobel prize my heart turned towards you with love and gratitude. I felt certain that of all my friends none would be more glad at this news than you. Honour's crown of honour is to know that it will rejoice the hearts of those whom we hold the most dear. But, all the same, it is a very great trial for me. The perfect whirlwind of public excitement it has given rise to is frightful. It is almost as bad as tying a tin can at a dog's tail making it impossible for him to move without creating noise and collecting crowds all along. I am being smothered with telegrams and letters for the last few days, and the people who never had any friendly feelings towards me nor ever read a line of my works are loudest in their protestations of joy. I cannot tell you how tired I am of all this shouting, the stupendous amount of its unreality being something appalling. Really these people honour the honour in me and not myself. The only thing that compensates for this is the unfeigned joy and pride that the boys of my school feel at this occasion. They are having festivities and making the most of me.

I know how glad Mrs. Rothenstein must have been at my great good fortune—please give her my kindest remembrances and love to the children.

Yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

14.

SHANTI NIKETAN,
BOLPUR,
BENGAL.
10 Dec. 1913.

MY FRIEND,

My days are riddled all over with interruptions, they are becoming perfectly useless to me. I am worn out writing letters,

distributing thanks by handfuls and receiving visitors. I cannot tell you how unsuitable this sudden eruption of honour is to a man of my temperament. The winter sun is sweet, the green is luxuriant all around me—I want to be gloriously idle and let my thoughts melt and mingle in the blue of the space. I am beginning to envy the birds that sing and gladly go without honour. I was watching a calf this morning tired of browsing, basking in the sun on the grass, supinely happy and placid; it made my heart ache with the desire to be one with the great life that surrounds this earth and to be able to be peacefully joyous in the simple enjoyment of the wealth lavished everywhere without being asked. But my mind is invaded and my time is wasted with things that are of the least significance to the inner. Perhaps you will smile and think this mood of mine as absurdly oriental—but still it has its truth which must not be overlooked.

With love,

I am, Ever yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

15.

SHILIDA.
March 1, 1914.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have collected some dolls and ornaments which I send you by this mail. I am afraid these dolls are not a success. The spirit of imitation is over them and not that of creation. They are the outcome of the eating of the fruit of knowledge and they have been banished from the paradise of childhood—they are ashamed to appear in the nakedness of their divine absurdity and they flock to the tailoring establishment of Natural history. But you will find some exceptions in the collection I am sending you. However, I think the ornaments will gladden your heart. I must not tell you the price I have paid for them—for I should like to let my two princesses across the water imagine when they put them on that they have cost

the seven kings of the Fairy tales their kingdoms. I think you have forgotten to send me the proofs of my brother's drawings—for since your last letter two mails have passed and I haven't got them yet.

Dr. I. C. Bose will be in England some time next May and I have been wishing I could accompany him there. I haven't had much peace since my return to India and I miss my English friends very badly. With love to you all,

I am,
My beloved friend,
Ever yours,
RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

16. SHANTI NIKETAN,
BOLPUR.
December 24th, 1914.

MY DEAR RACHEL,

You are kind to all dumb creatures, as well as creatures who are not at all dumb as your poet friends—and it is very kind of you to write to me and give me all the news of the day that are at all important. It is quite delightful to know that the caterpillars in your neighbourhood are happy taking no notice of the fearful foolishness of Man. I wish I could give you a somewhat cheering report of the once prosperous colony of squirrels in our garden—but since the arrival of a pair of cats its members have been “literally decimated” to quote the favourite phrase of the War correspondents. My feelings towards these wily creatures are such as should not be uttered in Christmas season—and I should be glad to send them off to some German sausage machine at once if they were not under a powerful protection. But the small remnants of their victims are almost insolently happy, cocking up thin absurd tails over their backs running up and down my verandah in perfect unconcern. When one of them suddenly stops before my august nose standing erect on its tail to scratch its

ear with its paw I feel rather small, knowing that they are not in the least impressed with my greybeards nor with my reputation as a poet. You will be glad to know we have frogs here quite as numerous as those in your garden—but I know what will make the green of your Oakridge still greener with envy—it is the peacock and the peahen we have wandering freely all about the place, despising in their hearts poor human beings who are indebted, very often heavily, to tailors' shops for their tails.

Do you know I have a secret hope in my heart to see you again some day before the lovely caterpillars have all turned into chrysalises.

I wish you a jolly Christmas and a happy New Year,

With my best love to you all, dear child,
Yours very affectionately,
RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

17. SHANTI NIKETAN,
BOLPUR.
August 20th, 1915.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

A spirit of restlessness is upon me and I have been longing to get away somewhere. I think it is my effort to get out of my outer skin which has grown dry and dead. I must feel myself afresh in a fresh sky. I am too much with men here who want me for various purposes. I fret against being obliged to make myself useful in all kinds of ways to all manners of men. I want to know that man is more than a useful animal. Really one can give more when one is asked less. To be useful you have to adapt yourself to others and thus you kill your own truth. It is a fearful wastage.

You do not know how I wish to be near you, my friend. I long to taste the pure joy of friendship free from all claims of narrow necessities. So often I dream of the deep quiet of your presence and the sensitive touches of your talk that used to surprise and satisfy me beyond measure. It was

the breadth of freedom and depth of sympathy all about you that captivated me so much when I came to know you. And my mind always turns back to you whenever I feel the need of a perfect combination of solitude and company in one. But I must wait till this war is over and in the meanwhile forget that I have a soul.

I got Dr. Bridges' letter last week and the following is the extract of the concluding portion of my reply to it:—"I think there is a stage in all writings where they must have a finality in spite of their shortcomings. Authors have their limitations and we have to put up with them if they give us something positively good. If we begin to think of improvement there is no end to it and differences of opinion are sure to arise. Please do not think that I have the least conceit about my English. Being not born to it I have no standard of judgment in my mind about this language—at least, I cannot consciously use it. Therefore I am all the more helpless in deciding whether certain alterations add to the value of a poem with which my readers' minds have already become familiar. I know, habit gives a poem its true living character, making it seem inevitable like a flower or a fruit. Flaws are there but life makes up for all its flaws."

Why doesn't Dr. Bridges try to translate some of my poems directly from the original with the help of his Bengali friends in Oxford?

I have got ready two of my MSS. of poems for publication. One, of the type of the *Gitanjali*, I have named "Fruit gathering," and the other of that of *The Gardener* "Lover's Gift." I shall send typed copies to you next mail for your opinion. This time I shall have to brave the risk of publishing them with all their imperfections unaltered, except errors of grammar and idiom. I think I should wait for the war to be over till they are published. Do you agree with me?

My love to you all.

Yours ever,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

18.

CALCUTTA.

Dec. 10, 1915.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

I have done a great deal of writings lately and been generally successful in making myself fiercely hated by a large body of my countrymen. I know it is a rare distinction for me, far nobler than what I achieved from men's praises—but still it is a starvation—anyhow it is a diet of prickly pears upon which desert animals like camels thrive best, but not those who have more sensitive organs of taste and digestion. It is not so much the unpleasantness of making enemies that repels one, as the vulgarity of the whole thing. In the human world we have to fight with each other, but unfortunately our weapons are different and one having muscle has to encounter another possessing a native supply of filthiness. However, it is no use denying the fact that human sympathy and appreciation are necessary for our hearts, and they can only be sacrificed for the higher interest of truth and humanity.

The migratory impulse is in my wings now. I felt exactly this restlessness before leaving for Europe last time. Possibly it is some inner accumulation in me which wants bursting its pod to be scattered in the wind. Then I want to see you, and I feel this time I shall be able to come still closer to you, for during these three years' separation our friendship has had time to send its roots into the deeper soil of our subconscious minds.

Yours ever,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

19.

SANTI NIKETAN.

June 2, 1918.

DEAR MRS. ROTHENSTEIN,

I must have been in an absurdly despondent mood when I wrote to Rachel that I had been despairing of ever going to England and meeting you. It is always difficult to analyze one's own psychology,

but I fully suspect that it was a cunning tactic on my part to lull you into a most complete sense of security, in order to storm you by surprise when the time came. How sweet it is of Rachel to write to me occasionally, especially when she has some vitally important news to announce about the advent of a kid or a calf. Her delightful letters instantly find out the spot in my heart where lie hidden some of the fondest treasures of my memory. Her letters set me longing to sail away and have a laughing chatter with your children, to feel the hearty grip of welcome from your hands and have a long talk with your husband about those things that matter and more specially about those that do not. The wishes for these simple joys bring deep aching into our hearts—all the more because the world at the present moment has become so terribly earnest—and the varied beauties of life are blurred in the monotony of the lurid haze of this war. By the by, please forgive me if I express my suspicion that Rachel is surreptitiously growing into a young woman behind my back. I can detect this treachery on her part by the extreme scarcity of endearments at the end of her latest letters. Such retrenchment does not prove thrift but miserliness, considering that the recipient is of an age when recoupment from a new source is wellnigh impossible for him.

With my love to you all,

Yours very sincerely,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

20.

SANTI NIKETAN,

BOLPUR,

BENGAL.

July 25th, 1919.

DEAREST FRIEND,

Your letter always gives me a sudden longing to go to England, just to have a few delightful days of quiet talks with you among those wooded downs under the soft grey light of your English sky. But the obstacle

which I find against realizing this wish is not external. Somehow my mind shrinks and refuses to get ready with enthusiasm. The first time when I went to England and found out my friends there and they found me out things were simple for me. For I was then a mere guest in your literary circle whose recognition of me depended upon the generosity of my hosts. But now unfortunately I have got a sort of sanctioned right and people do not have the freedom to ignore me. The fame that rests upon some public act of approbation carrying an authoritative warranty creates an unnatural situation vitiating the quality of both the praise and dispraise it excites. This makes me intently wish to go back to my former obscurity lighted only with the love of a few friends, and this makes me cling with all my heart to my work here outside the public gaze. One must have ample privacy and leisure to be fully true to oneself. Do you not think that the constant goading of criticism from the crowd to which all the creative souls of the modern age are subjected is demoralizing? It is the subconscious mind which is creative—and to invade its silence with ceaseless chatter is to make it sterile. This is the reason why we find in the modern literature a straining after originality which is not true originality but merely novelty. The things that are original are as old as the hills and as simple as the morning breeze. But cheap criticisms originate from cleverness which is cheap and they only stimulate cleverness that has not the bloom of life but the finish of the manufactured article. In our country literature has not to live and grow under a blazing publicity as in the West and the man of letters is not constantly reminded that he is a literary man. This may not be stimulating but restful and I can say that for me restfulness is more important than the stimulant of a noisy public opinion. However, I should give anything to be able to take an aeroplane flight and drop down at your door this moment. For I so want to talk to you about all manner of things! We have had our trials as you have had, but ours are all the more painful

because it is not given to us to be able to take measures to redress our wrongs. We have to wait for a change of mind in others, wait under the menace of machine guns and the gagging act. What makes it intolerable for us is to know that truth will be suppressed scientifically, and those who have suffered injustice will also have to carry the burden of wrong judgment. It comes to me almost with the force of a new discovery that there is one thing which makes life worth living it to us, it is doing some work, however small it may be, which is truly human, which has the beauty of the eternal about it and which may be safely and contemptuously ignored by the man gloating in the enjoyment of his unhallowed power. In order to forget that this life is a nightmare I have to serve these little boys I have gathered round me, teaching them elementary things and telling them stories. Their happiness, however momentary it may be, has an immense worth like the beauty of a flower that fades by the end of the day.

Ever yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

32,290

21.

HOTEL REGINA.

August 7th, 1926.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

I wish I had the same leisure that I possessed when I first came to know you—those days full of profound enjoyment and daily surprises of friendship. Unfortunately for me I have lost the place that I once chanced to gain in the heart of your country and today I feel that I merely drift here on the current of the crowd, a superficial existence that tires me every moment. But one thing I have discovered lately, that my love for you has sent its roots in the underground depth of my being and it is sure to survive all the changes of outward circumstance. My heart aches today when I remember our close and constant companionship in the early days of our acquaintance so richly endowed by the unstinted

generosity of your love. I am immensely thankful for this experience and also for the help you rendered unexpectedly in introducing Europe to me in whose shore, like a migratory bird, I have my second nest.

It is unlikely that I shall visit England again but I carry the touch of your hand with me and the remembrance of our last meeting which was short but poignantly full of tender recollections.

With love,

Ever yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

22.

VILLA KAHN,

CAP MARTIN.

March 30, 1930.

DEAR FRIEND,

Surviving series of mishaps on the way we have at last arrived in Europe after a prolonged voyage of 26 days. I intend to spend some weeks in South of France till it gets warmer when I am expected in Paris. I suppose you know I have my invitation to lecture in Oxford possibly in the beginning of June when I hope it will be tolerably warm in England.

I find that you already know that of late I have suddenly been seized with the mania of producing pictures. The praise which they had won from our circle of artists I did not take at all seriously till some of them attracted notice of a Japanese artist of renown whose appreciation came to me as a surprise. Some European painters who lately visited our *ashram* strongly recommended me to have them exhibited in Berlin and Paris. Thus I have been persuaded to bring them with me, about four hundreds of them. I still feel misgivings and I want your advice. They certainly possess psychological interest being products of untutored fingers and untrained mind. I am sure they do not represent what they call Indian Art, and in one sense they may be original, revealing a strangeness born

of my utter inexperience and individual limitations. But I strongly desire to have your opinion before they are judged by others in Europe. I do hope it is not utterly impossible for you to come to this beautiful villa and stay with us for a few days. I shall only be too happy to bear your travelling expenses and shall do my best to make you comfortable.

Ever yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

23.

MOZART GARDENS,
PARIS.

May 9, 1930.

DEAR MRS. ROTHENSTEIN,

We shall reach London on the 11th, next Sunday. I want to take my pictures the next day to your husband if he has time. I can not give you my London address because I do not know it myself. But I warn you beforehand that I shall claim a very large part of your time when it is available—for the number of my pictures has grown inordinately large. In Paris these pictures have found wide appreciation which relieves me of the burden of my diffidence. But I want your husband's judgment and advice before I venture to exhibit them in London. I shall telephone to you when I shall find myself in some lodging in London where my stay will be very short for I am expected elsewhere for my engagement.

With love to you all,

Your affectionate friend,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

24.

DARJEELING.

June 26th, 1931.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

The materials and tendencies are no doubt important in our history but when some unexpected push of an accident startles them into a final form it seems to

carry a purpose of a creative providence. Of all the facts in my life the fact of my meeting you in London in 1912 was most amazing in its consequences in the opening up of a prospect for me so utterly different from my former environment. Your discovery of a few meagre pages of my manuscript brought me out from my seclusion into the heart of a large world and turned me into a migratory being that has its two homes in the two opposite shores of the sea. This present celebration of my 70th birthday has its significance in the fact that I have won my right to claim a recognition as the poet who has had his two births, one among his own people and another in the freedom of humanity. This great fact has its intimate relation to your friendship which had been offered to me when I was still in the shadow of obscurity. Others are sending me today greetings of praise along with their felicitations from all parts of the world but you anticipated this event, and your homage, as coming from a representative of world culture, was the first one that I received in my life.

With my best love to you and to yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

I know that during my contact with you I occasionally displayed moods that must have caused you pain, but I hope you realize that they never represented my deeper normality, that they were provoked by some jerks of time which for the moment was passing over a road badly out of repairs.

25.

"UTTARAYAN,"

SANTINIKETAN,

BENGAL.

October 12, 1934.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Chakravarty came over for a couple of months and is now returning to Oxford to continue his researches. As he will tell you, I have been painting many pictures and sometimes I feel that you would like

to see my new things which are done with that daring in technique and style that only an untrained and persistently impulsive dreamer can achieve. I have been wondering whether it would be possible for me once for all to have an exhibition of my pictures in London so that they could be properly evaluated. In the gathering evening of my life I would dearly like once more to visit England to meet my friends—perhaps I could then take some of my pictures along with me.

Chakravarty has had talks with my cousin Abanindranath, and with Nandalal about the exhibition of Indian Art which will soon be held in London. He will tell you in detail the reasons why most of our artists, who are as you know unable to spend money ahead on their pictures, have not been able to co-operate with the organizers of the exhibition. It will be a pity if the pictures of some of our best artists go unrepresented at an exhibition which claims to represent modern Indian Art.

My love to you all,

Ever yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

26.

“UTTARAYAN,”

SANTINIKETAN,

BENGAL.

ALMORA.
U.P.

June 11, 1937.

MY DEAR ROTHENSTEIN,

Your letters invariably bring to me the fragrance of the world, the shores of which are fast receding away from us. You, Sturge Moore, and Ernest Rhys are perhaps my only link with that world and I can

quite realise that you do not exactly fit in with the modern scheme of things. I myself sometimes feel quite anti-dated in my country even though I try to keep abreast of modern tendencies in our world of thought and action; strange gods have been put on the altar, stranger incantations are being mumbled. But I do not grumble for each generation has its own problems to face and its own set of values. Only we are out of place.

You must forgive me if I am no longer an assiduous letter-writer as I used to be; a strange listlessness envelops me so often and my only shelter then is with my brush and the paints. With the ruthless freedom of an invader, I have been playing havoc in the complacent & stagnant world of Indian art and my people are puzzled for they do not know what judgment to pronounce upon my pictures. But I must say I am enjoying hugely my role as a painter.

The advent of old age I have to admit freely and it's perhaps the first time that I have sought shelter in the hills frightened of the summer heat of the plains. Almora is far away from the beaten tracks of civilization and here I am comparatively safe from meetings, receptions and interviews. I wish I could have stayed here for an indefinitely long period but Santiniketan has its exorbitant demands and I am afraid I have to go back when the Institution re-opens early July.

With warmest greetings, as of old,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

SIR WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN,
FAR OAKRIDGE,
STROUD,
GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH ORIENTALISTS

FOURTH CONFERENCE, OXFORD, SEPTEMBER 11-14, 1950

The fourth Conference of the Association of British Orientalists, which was held in St. John's College, Oxford, was devoted principally to the discussion of relations with UNESCO, and the stimulation of a wider interest in oriental studies and oriental art.

SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

Monday, September 11

8.30 p.m. The PRESIDENT OF ST. JOHN'S (Austin L. Poole, Esq., M.A.) in the Chair.

THE CORRELATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES

The subject was introduced by Professor A. J. Arberry. Commenting on the complete separation between oriental and the more "orthodox" studies at most universities, he saw in this fact a major reason for the comparatively small number of students those subjects continued to attract. He raised the question whether, and to what extent, oriental subjects could be introduced as parts or options of the more popular courses for undergraduates, and cited as a possible instance the feasibility of combining one European with one Eastern language in a combined Honours degree.

In discussion it was agreed that Oriental studies were conducted almost in isolation from the rest of the University, and that this was undesirable. This affected them in two ways. Students of oriental subjects were sometimes out of touch with complementary disciplines, and students of other faculties had few facilities for learning something of orientalism.

Several possible causes for isolation suggested themselves. The academic value of orientalism was sometimes lightly appreciated by the rest of the University. Its linguistic requirements were formidable for busy students, although some of the difficulties

might be eased by improved teaching technique. In some cases, it was thought, its utility was not immediately apparent in acquiring "qualifications for jobs."

Various courses of action were suggested by members, and some examples were cited of co-operation between orientalists and teachers in other faculties. It was generally agreed that students themselves could do much to stimulate interest in orientalism, by mixing with students in other faculties at lectures, etc., and would themselves profit by external interests. Staffs of oriental faculties had a responsibility to make the claims of orientalism respected and felt, by personal contact with their colleagues, by the provision of lectures in co-operation with other faculties, and by having staff members in common with them.

Tuesday, September 12

10.0 a.m. BASIL GRAY, Esq., in the Chair.

THE STUDY OF ORIENTAL ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

The Chairman in the course of his introductory remarks said:

"I should like to make a plea for the closer integration of the department of oriental studies which I am here to represent. We recognize our dependence on you at the Universities: we hope that you will recognize your community with us. It is surely clear that oriental archæology is just one branch of orientalism in your sense. In classical studies archæology is firmly established as a mode of research, not only respectable in itself, but one which cannot be neglected by any historian or even textual critic. Recently the same has become true of mediæval Western history. There is really no excuse for it not being so in oriental studies. No longer should it be possible for a historian to treat of architecture or painting as subjects

to be relegated to an appendix. Their evidence, together with that of excavation, of numismatics, is an essential and often important part of the history of civilization. Perhaps one reason for the slight friction between us is your suspicion that we regard your studies, perhaps even yourselves, as tools for our research. Please accept our assurance that this is quite unfounded. We need to join with you in co-operative work. Epigraphy is an example. This is, indeed, a special subject which can only be studied from the material remains, but it requires as a foundation the work of philologists, textual critics and historians. The contribution of material remains and of literary texts are clearly complementary. But so are the aesthetic of porcelain and poetry. We recognize this and we are trying in the museums to build up a tradition of scholarship; but we cannot do so without your co-operation, which depends upon your understanding of what we are doing.

It is as a fruit of this that we hope to be able to interest a wider and wider public in oriental civilizations, and the seed of the effort, if it is successful, will, I think, come back to you."

Dr. William Cohn delivered the following address.

Let me without further introduction come to the heart of the question. Only, I should like to say this beforehand: I intend to confine myself to some general points, and I will not keep you long. I shall, therefore, not deal with the question of how the study of oriental art could be incorporated into the syllabuses, and I must, of course, restrict my remarks to my own speciality.

First of all, let me limit the area with which I am going to deal. When I, in this context, speak of the orient, I mean only those countries which are bordered by the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, and their hinterlands. This is what we could call Asia proper. The Near and Middle East are in fact Mediterranean spheres. But I include in my definition of Asia proper also some Islamic countries, although it is chiefly in the Mediterranean area that Islam is at home. This

cannot be avoided, because for about a thousand years Islam has played an important part in India—and today we have Pakistan. Java also is Mohammedan, and many millions of Muslims live in China. Persia is in any case an area of transition between the Mediterranean and the Indo-Pacific world and must be included. Not only was it conquered by the Mohammedans in the seventh century and has remained Mohammedan ever since, but in the past Indian provinces have belonged to Persia, and Persian art has repeatedly influenced Indian and Chinese art. It is one of the chief characteristics of Asia proper that it comprises the oldest nations existing still today—nations whose ancient traditional art is still alive and continues to develop. The history of Indian art, if one leaves out the Indus civilization, covers more than two thousand years of uninterrupted development; that of China, if one omits the pre-historic period, more than three thousand years.

Regarding the subject of our discussion this morning, "The Study of Oriental Art and Archaeology," I will touch only on two points. First, the importance of this study in general, and especially at the present day. Secondly, the relation of oriental art history to oriental philology.

On the first point:

Is it not self-evident that the archæology and art of the Eastern peoples should be studied in the same way in which we are used to study those of Greece and Rome? Perhaps that may be denied. Some will reply that Greek and Roman culture are the pillars on which our Western civilization rests, and that this decisive fact explains our attitude towards them. Surely. But the world—as we all know—has essentially changed during the last century. Nowadays Asia has, so to say, become our neighbour, and one person in four on this earth is an Asiatic. Certain Asiatic ideas have profoundly influenced our spiritual life and our whole outlook during this last century—especially in philosophy and in art. Moreover, ancient Greece and Rome continue to live only in their im-

mortal works. The Asiatic nations, however, carry on with their old culture, uninterrupted despite the impact of the West, and constantly we are confronted with them, and have to come to an understanding with them. If art and archæology are essential to the investigation of Greece and Rome, then this—if I may dare to say—is still more so with regard to the Eastern peoples. For art has always greatly shaped their lives, and it has been perhaps still more indispensable to them than it was in Western antiquity. Nowhere can one find temples, in ruins or in use, more numerous and elaborate than in the area dominated by Indian culture. The rock temples and monasteries in particular are quite unique. I also think here of Java with its Borobudur, of Indo-China with Angkor, and of Siam. An attempt to study Indian religious literature without knowledge, or with a defective knowledge, of the architecture, sculpture and painting of the country is bound to neglect some of the most important documents. How many of the outstanding creations of Indian literature have been illustrated and glorified in Indian sculpture and painting! The visual arts are a means of expression for the Indian spirit, as important as the languages. In China, bronze vessels, even apart from their inscriptions, are the most characteristic documents of the earliest historical periods. Porcelain was invented in China and conquered the world, and the pure landscape became, for the first time in the world, an important subject of painting. The Imperial Palace in Peking has nowhere its equal. We must note the remarkable fact that in China—or better, in the area of Chinese civilization including Korea, Japan, Central Asia and Tibet—from very early times onwards the practice of painting has been regarded as the natural occupation of every educated person. Even in Islamic countries, where representational subjects were to a certain extent banned, art is a factor which should not be underestimated. We have only to think of the fascinating Islamic architecture and the colourful miniature paintings. Finally, let me remind you of the echo which

the recent successes of archæological research in India and China have found all over the world. The discoveries of the Indus civilization and of prehistoric China are not only amazing, they are apt to enlarge and deepen our knowledge of Western prehistory.

I have referred here to a few facts which are generally known. They are, I think, in themselves sufficient to show that the study of oriental art has as much claim to our attention as that of the languages and literature. In truth, art is a language, a visual language, which has its place by the side of the spoken and written word, and this particularly at the present time, when visual representations of all kinds which stimulate the imagination are especially favoured.

Art also frequently gives evidence for the study of different aspects of society. Art illustrates historical events and literary works; it is an essential part of the religions in the shape it gives to the divinities and the temples, and it offers a picture of the manners and habits of the time. Think, for instance, of the Chinese tomb figures. With surprising realism they bring to life the China of the great T'ang period. Or think of the Mughal paintings with their portraits and characteristic court scenes. Art is a key to the understanding of the character of different peoples and religions. It is further obvious that an acquaintance with Eastern art is apt to make certain tendencies of our own art—above all of our modern art—more intelligible to us. It widens our horizon. Finally, the fact that we can survey the development of Eastern art over its whole uninterrupted period offers an opportunity for comparative studies of all kinds. The Eastern nations are the only non-European nations among whom artists have played a role in society comparable to that in the West. In China a painting academy existed many centuries before such institutions were founded in the West; and Indian, Persian and Chinese rulers had their court artists, as had the princes of Europe. There were similar organizing bodies which carried out the building of an Indian temple and of a Western cathedral. Buddhist and Christian

art have often similar aims. And so on and so on.

I now turn to my second point: the relation of oriental art history to oriental philology. I hope I can assume that no one seriously doubts that the Eastern branches of world art must be incorporated into academic studies. In fact, in London at the Courtauld Institute and at the School of Oriental Studies the first steps have already been taken. At first sight there seems to be no reason why the conditions in the field of Eastern art should not be analogous to those prevailing in the art and archæology of Greece and Rome. But the situation is much more complicated, especially since the field of research is much greater in time and space—as a matter of fact, immense—and because such a great number of languages and scripts are involved. It is clear that one must have a good knowledge of Greek and Latin if one wishes to investigate the art of Greece and Rome. The same holds good of Italian, French, Spanish and German art. Are conditions the same as regards Eastern art? Let us admit that a student of Islamic art must have a full knowledge of Arabic. But must a student of Indian art be at home in the nine chief vernacular Indian languages and in the different scripts? One should not forget that Nepalese, Tibetan, Burmese, Siamese, Cambodian, Javanese, etc., must equally be considered. I believe we meet here insurmountable difficulties. They are multiplied when we consider the Far East. It cannot be denied that writing has perhaps nowhere played such an important part as there. Calligraphy is also an essential element in Islamic art. In China, however, calligraphy and actually every inscription or colophon are valued even more highly than the manifestations of representative art or, for that matter, of the crafts. Moreover, the Chinese and Japanese art literature is of very great age and of an immense volume, more extensive, for instance, than that of classical antiquity or medieval Europe. It seems therefore obvious that the art historian and archæologist should be fully familiar with Chinese and Japanese writing and

language. And yet such a demand could not be easily realized and would—I dare say—not be a reasonable one. You are all aware of the intricacies of the Chinese and Japanese script and language. The work of a lifetime is needed to be successful in these fields. And even after one has reached one's goal one still feels the huge gaps in one's knowledge, and realizes how one-sided the sinologist must of necessity remain. Now the student would have to add to the linguistic and philological labours the art-historical and archæological research, which again requires the work of a lifetime. I have so far not spoken about the tasks of art history and archæology, which often overlap. First of all we must realize that the primary sources of art history are the art monuments themselves and less the literary documents. For the art historian, history, philosophy and literature of all kinds are of secondary importance. That does not mean that he may neglect these branches of knowledge. But they are not in the first rank of his research—they are for him rather auxiliary sciences or background studies. His foremost aims must be to gain a survey, as complete as possible, of the totality of the preserved monuments; to show the development of the styles and to interpret them æsthetically; to explain the subjects and topics; to distinguish between originals, school works, copies, paraphrases and forgeries; to describe the technical processes; to outline the life of the masters and to determine their *œuvre*. Finally, like any other art historian, the student of Eastern art cannot be content with the knowledge of his own field. He must to some extent be familiar with the art of all areas which have any relation to his special study. With China, for example, he must be able to review the art of India, Central Asia, Korea and Japan. Or, take the Islamic art of Persia. Here he cannot ignore the other Islamic countries, and no less Byzantium, classical antiquity, and even China. That, in addition, he should have some acquaintance with Western art goes without saying. Similar conditions are valid in the field of archæology. The technique of excavation, for instance, has

developed to such a degree that it is a science in itself. Who can doubt that this programme, which does, in fact, not include all important points, is large enough to fill the life of the student of Eastern art, and leaves but little time for linguistic work? Now one may ask: How does he know about the dates and masters, if he cannot read the inscription and literary sources? How about the subjects and their meaning, if he cannot himself consult the religious and secular literature of the relevant nations? How should he be able to characterize satisfactorily the personalities of the different artists and the periods of art, if he cannot himself read the indigenous art literature? And so forth. The answer to these questions gives at the same time the answer to the problem of how the art of the East should be studied. I think the only way out is team-work. Linguists, art historians and archæologists must work together, as often and as closely as possible. The art historian has, of course, to know the entire relevant literature in so far as it has been translated by the philologists. But one can scarcely demand of him that he should always go back to the original sources. What then is the purpose of the translations made by the experts? Is it only to enable their closest colleagues to find out the mistakes? Is it not one of the aims of all translations to place reliable instruments at the disposal of the neighbouring disciplines, like history, the history of religions, philosophy—and last but not least, the history of art? The art historian may consult his philological friends about the relative value of the different translations. I am afraid he will frequently hear unfavourable criticisms. The philologists, on their part, might well pay more attention to art and to the literature concerned. An immense store of untouched material awaits them. In the course of their work, however, they should not fail to co-operate with the art historians and to discuss with them the art monuments mentioned in the sources, the terminology of art history and art, and similar topics. The philologists have done very much important and fundamental work for art history—and they would have done still

more if they had collaborated more closely with the art historian. In fact, there were and there are several archæologists who have proceeded in this way, and who never neglected to consult the linguists. On the other hand, philologists have again and again availed themselves of the help of the art historians. Whenever the art historian has the ambition to excel as a linguist, or the linguist as an art historian, there is always the danger of amateurish work. Occasionally, of course, we meet with scholars who in both fields are equally at home and do work of unusual quality. But these are exceptions. In general, one may say that the art historian and the archæologist should have a working knowledge of the language and script prevalent in the main fields of his study, and that the philologist should have a working knowledge of art history and archæology. Really successful work demands in most cases team-work, or the co-operation of both camps.

That is all I want to say at the moment about my subject. How the study of Eastern art and archæology could be incorporated into the syllabuses—to make proposals regarding the technicalities—I would like to leave to the discussion. I am sure it will do something to clarify the issue. I just want to add that, if art history is recognized as an integral part of every oriental faculty, it is clear that collections of reproductions and slides of the most important art monuments, reference libraries and—last but not least—more museums with special exhibition galleries, study rooms and projectors are urgently needed, and that the universities should work together with the museums as closely as possible. I am looking forward, after the discussion, to show you round in our little Museum of Eastern Art, and perhaps I shall even succeed in illustrating some of my points.

In the discussion that followed instances were given (notably from the Courtauld Institute) of successful co-operation between art historians and archæologists, on the one hand, and orientalists, on the other. Encouragement was derived from the provision of a Museum of Eastern Art at Oxford, the

beginnings of a museum at Durham, and a generous gift which will make such a museum possible at the School of Oriental and African Studies. The meeting generally welcomed the closing of the gap, so unfortunate in the past, between those whose primary interests were the fine arts, and those of more conventional academic interests. There was an increasing prospect, as more teachers became available, of mutually beneficial co-operation and of bringing the arts into relation with regular academic courses.

Among the questions raised was one by Professor Arberry: "Can the Chairman give us his view on the question whether it is still possible to form collections of first-class objects from the East, and whether he considers that second-class objects are of any real value for a University museum?"

The Chairman replied: "May I say in the first place that so far as illuminated Persian manuscripts are concerned the older Universities of this country have for long possessed first-class examples, but that their study is only of recent origin. On the major question I believe that if you in Universities really want collections of Oriental art you will get them in sufficient quantity, of the highest quality. This country still has very great resources in private hands."

Members of the Conference subsequently visited the Museum of Eastern Art, under the guidance of Dr. William Cohn.

5.0 p.m. PROFESSOR C. H. PHILIPS in the Chair.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

1. *The Oriental Year.*

Professor J. R. Firth reported that the *Oriental Year*, the annual bibliography for which plans were first made at the Conference of 1946, would be issued for the year 1948 before the end of the current year, at a price of approximately £2 5s. od. The question of issuing separate sections was still under discussion. In the volume for 1948 no cross-references had been inserted, but it was hoped to include these in the volume for 1949, together with an author index.

Financial support, and latterly secretarial assistance, had been provided by the School of Oriental and African Studies, and there were funds in hand to provide for an annual volume until 1952.

The meeting agreed that its appreciation of the support given by the School of Oriental and African Studies to this project should be expressed in a resolution at the business meeting, and thanked Professor Firth for his active chairmanship of the Editorial Board.

2. *Microfilm Committee.*

Dr. A. F. L. Beeston presented the following report:

Those who were present at the Association's Durham Conference last year will recall that, in the report then presented, this committee then mentioned two lines of approach to the problem of microfilming the most important oriental manuscripts in the libraries of this country. Firstly, efforts were being made to obtain financial backing from the Rockefeller Foundation for a comprehensive scheme of microfilming; secondly, in case this line of approach should fail, a scheme was being drafted whereby individual libraries should be asked to co-operate in producing the required microfilms at their own expense.

The Committee has now to report with regret that the efforts to obtain Rockefeller support have finally proved fruitless. As regards the second line of approach, six of the libraries containing the most valuable oriental collections were circularized; the replies from all but one have been favourable in principle to the proposal, but three of them felt themselves not to be, at the present moment, able to secure the necessary financial grants for participating in the scheme. Grants have, however, been made by the India Office Library and the Bodleian.

Out of these grants the I.O.L. has microfilmed three Arabic manuscripts, one Javanese, three Malay, three Persian, one Panjabi, thirty Sanskrit and one Urdu, together with the Sanskrit, Khotanese and Kuchean fragments from the Stein Collection. The Bodleian has to date made microfilms of

nine Arabic, one Persian and one Chinese manuscript. It is intended to publish details of the manuscripts which have thus been microfilmed in the forthcoming *Oriental Year Book*.

The Committee hopes that, a start having been made, future years may see both an expansion of the work achieved by these libraries and the adhesion of further libraries as and when their financial situation permits. The Committee feels that, at this stage and onwards, its existence *qua* committee of the Association is no longer useful, and that further developments should be left to the initiative of the librarians concerned. At the same time, the present Conference of the Association may wish to record a resolution urging on those libraries which have not yet been able to join the scheme the great desirability of doing so to the extent that their means allow, both as some insurance against the risks to which irreplaceable manuscripts can be exposed in the modern world, and as a valuable aid to the day-to-day work of scholarship.

In the discussion which followed, it was suggested that a grant of £50-£100 would enable any library to participate usefully in the scheme. The meeting agreed to refer the resolutions in the report to the business meeting.

3. *Joint Advisory Committee on Publications.*

Professor J. R. Firth reported that the Joint Advisory Committee on Publications had been constituted as a result of the action taken by the University Grants Committee on the Scarbrough Report. The U.G.C. had asked that the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London should submit applications for funds for publication of orientalist works through a single representative body, and not severally. As their representatives on this committee the Universities had nominated Professors G. R. Driver, A. J. Arberry and J. R. Firth respectively, with headquarters in London. Three advisory panels had been set up, for Indo-Iranian, Far Eastern and Near Eastern publications.

The J.A.C.P. had received and considered

a list of titles for publications from the three advisory panels. The estimated cost of all the works submitted was £35,000. The Committee thought it advisable to divide these works into four categories as follows:

- i. Books ready now for publication; estimated cost £11,000.
- ii. Books of which the early completion might be expected; estimated cost £11,000.
- iii. Larger projects.
- iv. Works which might be published through ordinary commercial channels, and for which a subvention only would be required.

The Committee proposed to apply for a grant of £11,000 to meet the cost of publishing the books in list (i) before the end of the present quinquennium. London University would act as sponsor and hold the funds on trust, to be shared with the other Universities in the scheme. If this application were successful the Committee would apply for a grant of £11,000 for the publication of the books listed in category (ii) in the quinquennium 1952-7. The list of books in category (i) contained eleven titles, and the application would be submitted before the end of the year. List (ii) would remain open for further suggestions, and lists (iii) and (iv) would be referred back to the panels.

To secure that all other Universities would be represented also on the Committee, it had been decided that Professor Driver would act for Durham, Professor Arberry for Edinburgh, and Professor Firth for Manchester and the remaining Universities.

The Chairman thanked the speakers and expressed the general feeling of satisfaction that progress was being made with all these projects.

8.15 p.m. SIR RALPH TURNER in the Chair. THE UNESCO PROJECT FOR AN INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF ORIENTALIST SOCIETIES

Monsieur J.-J. Mayoux stated that the object in organizing international federations of learned societies was that these societies

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might, on the international level, provide a channel of communication between themselves and UNESCO. The object of UNESCO was to achieve a better understanding between nations. Learned societies might think that there was nothing incompatible in such an effort to achieve better understanding and their search for truth.

UNESCO left the organization of such federations to the discretion of the constituent groups of each federation, subject to the following requirements:

- i. The formation of a secretariat with which UNESCO could communicate;
- ii. The observance of certain principles, namely:
 - (a) Each organization should be fully representative of its purported interest.
 - (b) It should be democratically controlled—*i.e.*, responsible through its central secretariat to national bodies, which themselves should be answerable to their members.
 - (c) It should be a working body, providing business which could be submitted to the international body for possible international implementation.

The secretariat of each international federation provides one member for the General Council of Philosophical and Humanistic Studies. The speaker gave several instances of such federations already in being, and mentioned that a group in Chicago were already interested in an orientalist federation. The advantages of such an international federation were these:

- i. The world of scholarship has a voice in world affairs.
- ii. UNESCO can provide certain financial help for publications.
- iii. A federation offers improved facilities for contacts.

In reply to questions the following additional information was given:

The channel of communication is as follows. Each of the national bodies elects

a representative, and these national representatives form an International Council. This Council elects a secretariat. The secretariat provides a representative on the General Council for Philosophical and Humanistic Studies, which in turn is represented in the councils of UNESCO.

The secretariat of the International Federation is supported financially by the component national bodies. UNESCO can provide office facilities, but not stipends.

Such financial resources as are available (the speaker mentioned a budget of \$75,000 last year) are used for projects submitted by the representatives of the international federations to the General Council for Philosophical and Humanistic Studies, which in turn decides priorities for the approval of UNESCO.

Further discussion of this project was deferred until 5.0 p.m. on the following day.

Wednesday, September 13

10.0 a.m. PROFESSOR GIBB in the Chair.

TRANSLATION PROGRAMMES:
PROGRESS REPORTS AND PROSPECTS
OF CO-ORDINATION

The Chairman reported the action of the Executive Committee in regard to the "Durham Letter"—*i.e.*, the statement of the plans and aspirations of the Association in regard to translations and the study of art, which had been approved in principle at the Third Conference, and entrusted to the Executive Committee for revision and despatch to the American Council of Learned Societies with an invitation for the co-operation of American orientalists and the Rockefeller Foundation. The letter was revised in the terms indicated and sent to the A.C.L.S., which had multigraphed and distributed it. No reactions to it had yet been communicated. The letter had not yet been passed to the Rockefeller Foundation, but the speaker understood that it would be sent on to the Foundation shortly. There was, however, reason to believe that, in view

of the recent commitments of the Foundation in the fields of Oriental studies, no high hopes could be entertained of financial support from the Foundation for further schemes.

There was some progress to report on some of the plans outlined in the letter.

Short-range Programmes

Professor Arberry reported that the editors of the series of ethical and religious classics hoped to have four or five books in publication this year. Despite production difficulties the first work in the series was in print, a second in proof, and copies were on view at the Conference. Tribute was paid to Mr. H. N. Spalding and the editors for the successful initiation of this project.

Long-range Programmes

The Chairman reported the addition of two schemes in this category during the year. Dr. Montgomery Watt (Edinburgh) had taken the responsibility of compiling and keeping a card index of biographies in Arabic and Persian works, and a translation of Ibn Hisham's biography of Muhammad was proceeding under the direction of the Rev. E. F. F. Bishop (Glasgow).

Co-operation with UNESCO

Monsieur J.-J. Mayoux gave the Conference the following account of the translation projects envisaged by UNESCO.

By a unanimous vote the General Assembly of the United Nations had in 1946 agreed that international understanding and mutual respect required large translation undertakings, especially those needed to link European countries with the Middle and Far East. The translation of a number of European works into Arabic was passed to UNESCO for action. A committee had been formed in Beirut to advise on translation both from and into Arabic. Financial support was, in the first place, to be provided in equal shares by Lebanon and UNESCO. Egypt and Syria were invited to co-operate and participate; Syria had recently done so, but Egypt had abstained. The work of this committee was disappointing, and UNESCO had decided on more direct action. British

orientalists were asked (through Professor Arberry) to submit lists, and so were French orientalists. A list was received from England, and more recently some suggestions were received from France. The present state of progress was that three or four titles were in production, containing translations of Arabic works into English, French and Spanish. The view taken by UNESCO was that this was not enough, and they sought the further co-operation of orientalists. Such co-operation, it was added, should recognize that UNESCO's aim was to produce works of humanistic meaning; it was not interested in promoting the publication of recondite and difficult research, or even of such elaborate translations as those of the Guillaume Budé series.

Further points arose out of the discussion. Some of the works mentioned in the first part of the meeting were of the kinds that UNESCO had in view. There was a possibility that UNESCO might buy, by way of subvention, a number of copies of books produced commercially, if they fulfilled its requirements. There was a French proposal for a number of small and easily handled *fascicules*, each devoted to a single aspect of Islamic thought and culture.

So far, UNESCO had been directly concerned only with the Near and Middle East. India had shown little interest, and China was at present *incommunicado*, and these facts blocked further progress, since it was an essential part of any UNESCO scheme that the country responsible for the geographical location of a culture should be in part responsible also for the financial cost of its dissemination.

Co-operation with American Bodies

The Chairman (recently returned from the United States) reported that the A.C.L.S. were agreed on the principle of co-operation with British orientalists in translation work. A scheme had just been underwritten by the Rockefeller Foundation for the translation of literary works written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish since 1900; thus there was no clash between the A.C.L.S. project and those of

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the "Durham Letter." There were several other bodies also which had schemes and projects on hand, such as the Middle East Institute at Washington, D.C. (an institution dependent largely on private resources), and Princeton University, where the preparation of a historical atlas of the Near East was in an advanced state.

Facts placed before the meeting showed the most obvious lack of co-ordination in translation work, and the existence of some duplication in the American, Unesco and British schemes. The best method of preventing unnecessary and wasteful overlapping was to organize the publication of a bulletin of work in progress. The production of such a bulletin had been mooted by the Conference in 1947, and there was now some evidence that both the Rockefeller Foundation and (despite its other preoccupations) the A.C.L.S. were interested in the project.

Further discussion of this and other proposals were remitted to the separate meetings of the three sections which were held after the close of this meeting.

5.0 p.m. REV. PROFESSOR A. GUILLAUME in the Chair.

DISCUSSION OF THE UNESCO PROJECT AND MATTERS RELATING TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

The UNESCO Project

The tenor of discussion emphasized that this was a question too important for immediate decision. The task of further investigation and consideration was entrusted to the Executive Committee, who would report to a meeting of the Conference, to be held before the next Congress of Orientalists, when (it was expected) the matter would be raised on the motion of the Dutch Oriental Society.

The International Congress of Orientalists

Discussion of matters relating to the next Congress, due to be held in Istanbul in 1951, was hampered by an almost entire absence of information on the arrangements for the Congress, and the Executive Committee was

asked to make such inquiries as were possible. It was apparent, however, that if the Congress were held in Istanbul it would involve British members in considerable expense. The meeting agreed to a proposal that the British Academy might be asked to make representations to H.M. Income Tax Commissioners for income tax relief for bona-fide scholars attending Congresses overseas. This would at least lessen, though not remove, the financial burden of attending the Congress.

8.15 p.m. SIR READER BULLARD, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., in the Chair.

RECRUITMENT FOR ORIENTAL STUDIES

Mr. W. A. C. H. Dobson opened the discussion with the observation that much had already been said during the Conference about attracting students. This preoccupation with recruiting suggested that the problem had changed little since the Scarbrough Commissioners denominated it "the most outstanding feature" of the position in 1946.

He suggested for consideration that to regard all students in oriental subjects as potential orientalists was an inhibiting factor to recruitment. If it was their belief that orientalism offered an education in a humane branch of arts, then there was no valid reason why more students should not read oriental studies and pass into the normal occupations of graduates, exactly as in other humane disciplines. This made possible wider fields for recruitment. Mr. Anthony Eden was cited as one who had turned an "oriental education" to good account.

Since much had been said already about attracting undergraduates, some consideration might be given to those in the pre-undergraduate stage. There was evidence to suggest that schoolmasters and sixth-form boys were not disinterested in the Orient, but lacked guidance. Could this be provided? It had been provided successfully for classical studies by the Classical Association, in a booklet called *The Claim of Antiquity*. This might serve as a useful model for a parallel work on orientalism.

The discussion which followed revolved round two main considerations. Firstly, efforts must be made by orientalists themselves to provide the need for information on oriental subjects, in schools, adult educational bodies and the like, and to state their claims. Secondly, and complementary to the first, there was need to provide in easily assimilable form some guidance to reading, where interest had been stimulated. It was therefore resolved to entrust the Executive Committee with the production of a booklet on the lines suggested, and afterwards to encourage its distribution, by such means as personal approach to the Headmasters' Conference, notices in educational publications, personal distribution in schools and meetings visited, bringing the booklet to the notice of librarians in schools, colleges, municipalities, etc. The demand from the last-named alone, it was thought, would be sufficient to justify the publication.

Thursday, September 14

10.0 a.m. PROFESSOR GIBB in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were put to the meeting and adopted as Resolutions of the Conference:

I. RELATIONS WITH UNESCO

1. That the Executive Committee be instructed to investigate further the proposal to form an International Federation of Orientalist Societies, to enter into correspondence with other Orientalist Societies to this end, and to report back to the next Conference.

2. That the Association forward to UNESCO a list of oriental works which would be of general interest if translated, and that the School of Oriental and African Studies be approached with a request to prepare such a list after consultation with other institutions.

3. That Professor Arberry be authorized to represent the Association in consulting with the officers of UNESCO on the preparation and publication of translations from oriental literatures.

II. THE ORIENTAL YEAR

That the thanks of the Conference be expressed to the School of Oriental and African Studies for the support given to the publication of *The Oriental Year*.

III. MICROFILMS

1. That the Microfilms Committee be discharged, and that the thanks of the Conference be expressed to its members.

2. That the Association express its earnest hope that the British libraries to whom the appeal of the Association's Microfilms Committee was addressed last year will do their utmost to support this scheme, which affords both some insurance against possible war risks and similar dangers to irreplaceable manuscripts, and also a most valuable aid to scholars working on such material.

IV. BULLETIN OF WORK IN PROGRESS

1. That a Committee be appointed to prepare an annual bulletin of work in progress in Near Eastern and Indian studies in British Universities.

2. That the Committee be authorized to negotiate for the publication of the bulletin either in the United Kingdom or in association with the American Council of Learned Societies.

3. That the Committee be constituted as follows:

Professor Brough (London)
Professor Gibb (Oxford)
Professor Guillaume (London)
Mr. R. L. Hill (Durham)
Mr. J. D. Pearson (London)

V. RECRUITMENT FOR ORIENTAL STUDIES

That the Executive Committee be instructed to prepare a pamphlet on Eastern civilizations on the lines of *The Claim of Antiquity*, and to consider means of distributing it to schools, colleges and libraries.

VI. ATTENDANCE AT OVERSEAS CONFERENCES

That a proposal be addressed to the British Academy to use its good offices with the appropriate authorities to secure remission of income tax on expenses of bona-fide scholars attending conferences outside the United Kingdom.

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On the motion of the Chairman, the Conference expressed its regret at the absence through illness of Mr. H. N. Spalding, Professor Simon and Professor Tritton.

The Chairman presented a report on the financial position.

It was agreed to recommend to the Executive Committee that the next Conference should be held at Cambridge before the date of the next International Congress of Orientalists.

The following members were elected to serve on the Executive Committee:

Professor Arberry (Cambridge)
E. B. Ceadel (Cambridge)
W. A. C. H. Dobson (Oxford)
Professor C. H. Philips (London)
Dr. W. Montgomery Watt (Edinburgh)

A vote of thanks was proposed by the Chairman and heartily accorded to the President and the Governing Body of St. John's College for the hospitality shown to the Conference.

On the motion of Professor Arberry, the Conference passed a vote of thanks to Professor Gibb and Mr. Dobson for their successful organization of the Conference.

The Chairman then declared the Conference ended.

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MEMBERS OF THE OXFORD CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 11-14, 1950

Professor A. J. Arberry (Cambridge).
Professor H. W. Bailey (Cambridge).
Dr. A. A. Baké (S.O.A.S.).
Dr. A. F. L. Beeston (Oxford).
Dr. S. Bhattacharya (S.O.A.S.).
Rev. E. F. F. Bishop (Glasgow).
Sir Reader Bullard, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. (Treasury Committee).
Mr. W. C. Cassels, C.B.E. (China Association).
Dr. Wm. Cohn (Oxford).
Mr. W. A. C. H. Dobson (Oxford).
Professor G. R. Driver (Oxford).
Professor H. H. Dubs (Oxford).
Dr. M. Fakhry (S.O.A.S.).

Professor J. R. Firth (S.O.A.S.).
Mr. I. J. C. Foster (Durham).
Professor H. A. R. Gibb (Oxford).
Mr. Basil Gray (British Museum).
Rev. Professor A. Guillaume (S.O.A.S.).
Mr. A. Haidari (Cambridge).
Professor D. G. E. Hall (S.O.A.S.).
Mr. W. H. Hansford (Universities China Committee).
Lt.-Col. E. C. Harcourt (Oxford).
Mr. J. F. B. Hartshorne (Oxford).
Mr. R. Hill (Durham).
Mr. C. W. Holmes (Durham).
Mr. H. G. H. Hughes (S.O.A.S.).
Dr. A. K. S. Lambton (S.O.A.S.).
D. M. Lang (S.O.A.S.).
Mr. H. D. G. Law (Iran Society).
Professor R. Levy (Cambridge).
Dr. G. L. Lewis (Oxford).
Professor W. D. McHardy (London).
Mr. Alfred Master (S.O.A.S.).
Professor V. Minorsky (S.O.A.S.).
Professor A. C. Moule (Cambridge).
Mr. J. D. Pearson (S.O.A.S.).
Professor C. H. Philips (S.O.A.S.).
Sir John T. Pratt, K.B.E., C.M.G. (Universities China Committee).
Dr. F. Rahman (Durham).
Professor J. Robson (Manchester).
Mr. C. A. Rylands (S.O.A.S.).
Dr. J. Schacht (Oxford).
Mr. A. G. Shirreff.
Dr. D. Sinor (Cambridge).
Mr. R. M. Smith (Cambridge).
Dr. M. Srinivas (Oxford).
Miss D. A. L. Stede (S.O.A.S.).
Professor T. W. Thacker (Durham).
Rev. R. Thornhill (Durham).
Y. T. Tsao (S.O.A.S.).
Sir Ralph L. Turner (S.O.A.S.).
Dr. E. Ullendorff (St. Andrews).
Dr. O. B. Van der Sprenkel (S.O.A.S.).
Dr. R. Walzer (Oxford).
Dr. W. Montgomery Watt (Edinburgh).
Mrs. K. P. K. Whittaker (S.O.A.S.).
Wong Sik-Ling (S.O.A.S.).
Wu Shihch'ang (Oxford).

Guest

Mons. J.-J. Mayoux (UNESCO).

ART IN CHAMBA

By J. C. FRENCH

CHAMBA is in the heart of the Himalayas. It is the neighbour of the Kangra Valley, but snow peaks lie between. After crossing a high pass the town of Chamba, capital of Chamba State, suddenly comes into sight, white and gleaming in the valley far below. The traveller descends to it by a breakneck bridle path. A bridge leads over a boiling torrent, the Ravi, which, when it reaches the plains and becomes a great stream, is one of the name rivers of the Punjab, The Land of the Five Rivers. The traveller is now in Chamba town. It was here that I met a *Sannyasi*, wearer of the saffron robe of the religious ascetic, seeking *Nirvana* in the icy solitudes of the Himalayas, the last stage in the earthly activity of the Brahmin, as prescribed by the Sacred Books. A *Sannyasi* may have been anything before he took up the saffron robe—a clerk, a trader, a judge, a member of a princely family. The face of the *Sannyasi* beside the Ravi river struck me. I could see power, authority and intellect stamped upon it, though I only caught a glimpse of it for a moment as he went on his way to the snows. Strange legends are told of hermitages among the icy peaks, how the greatest of the ascetics have their homes in the very summits of the Himalayan giants, and live by perpetually subdividing and eating a single grain of rice. They cut the original grain in half, and later divide the half, and so on, so that a single grain lasts them indefinitely, until at long last *Nirvana* arrives.

To the student of the Hindu art and culture of the Himalayas Chamba is an interesting spot. It has been preserved completely inviolate from the Moslem invasions. It is not unique in this. The same is true of Mandi, Suket and other places. But Chamba is the largest town in the Western Hills which has not been captured by the Moslems. It owed its immunity to its natural ramparts. It is surrounded by mountains, in wave after wave, and not a few of them white-

capped. The country swarms with game. In particular it is famous for the size of its black bears. They are the largest in the Himalayas. The brown bear is another inhabitant of Chamba. It is a queer-looking animal with a dirty brown coat. It lives high up in the mountains near the snows, and in winter its coat goes almost white. Meeting a brown bear on the hillside is a curious experience. With its strange shaggy coat and odd unfinished look it seems an anachronism, a survival, a prehistoric peep. Even higher up the mountains than the brown bear lives the ibex, most mysterious of Himalayan beasts. When winter comes, with its storms and snow, all the other animals move downwards in search of warmth and shelter. The ibex alone climbs higher. No wonder it is the theme of a thousand legends and stories, and wizards put the horns of the ibex on the roofs of their huts.

Chamba town rises in regular steps up the steep hillside. First there is a large flat, open space, the pride and admiration of the Chamba hillman, who often in all his life has never seen so much level ground in one place. This serves as a public park, market place and parade ground as required. On this lowest level of the town are the tradesmen and merchants. Here there used to be a shop called "The Himalayan Store" which had three things for sale—wild honey, the furs of wild animals and Hill pictures. The shop-keeper was a Chamba man who dealt in local stuff. Still, he had no false patriotism in matters of art. He once said to me: "Now I shall show you the wonder of the world, pictures in the old Kangra *kalam*" (literally "pen," but meaning "brush"). On this open space is also the museum, built by the late Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba.

On the next step up the hill of Chamba town we come to the temples and the Brahmin priests. In the northern courtyard of an old temple I photographed an old fresco in three

panels—Hanuman, the monkey god, to the left, Rama and Sita in the centre, and the demon king Ravana to the right. It is reproduced as Plate V in my book *Himalayan Art*. I took a separate photograph of the central panel of Rama and Sita, which has not been published until now (Plate I). Rama, crowned and seated beside Sita, holds in his right hand what appear to be two arrows. Above him is the royal umbrella, and a princely attendant behind holds the white yak's tail whisk, another emblem of sovereignty. The corners of the arch crowning the fresco are filled with floral decoration typical of the art of the Hills. The line of the figures is sensitive and delicate, and there is an air of solemn expectancy in the scene. The date of this fresco is the eighteenth century. Immediately after taking this photograph I had a practical example of the way in which frescoes disappear. Someone offered to show me a similar fresco elsewhere. We went straight to the place and found that the fresco had been scraped off and the wall white-washed only a week before.

Above the temples is the New Palace of the Raja of Chamba. The Rajas of Chamba have reigned for over fifteen hundred years with an uninterrupted descent in the male line. "It is not material force that has given them a perennial stream of vitality. They have struck their roots deep as trees grow in the rain and soft air. They have, as it were, become one with nature, a part of the divine and established order of things, and the simple Rajput peasant no more questions their right to rule than he rebels against sunshine which ripens his harvest or the storm which blasts it. In comparison with them most of the royal houses of the plains are but as of yesterday, and the oldest must yield the palm to some of the noble families of the Punjab hills."

Sansar Chand, the great Maharaja of Kangra, towards the end of the eighteenth century, killed in battle the Raja of Chamba. The latter was thus granted his daily prayer to the gods, that when his time came, he might fall in battle facing the enemy.

A story is told in Chamba which symbolizes the intense attachment of the Hill chief to his native soil. In days of old there was a petty

Rana who was constantly in rebellion against his liege lord, the Raja of Chamba. But whenever there was a truce or a safe conduct, and he came into Chamba and appeared before the Raja, he was all loyalty and submission. As soon as he got back to his native heath he was as rebellious as ever. The Raja could not understand this and consulted his courtiers. The matter was explained to him: "It is his native soil which makes him rebellious. When he comes to Chamba he is on alien earth, and so he is submissive." The Raja gave orders that some earth was to be brought secretly from the Rana's land, and put into the durbar ground in a marked spot. The Rana was then summoned. At first, when he was standing on the outer edge of the durbar ground, he was submissive, but the Raja called him in till his feet touched his own earth. At once he broke into fierce defiance. The Rana's name and also his wife's have been handed down in an old Hill rhyme:

Rihila Rana Bahila Rani
Bannu Kot Sarol pani
Badram janjan khani.

(Rihila and Bahila, Lord and Lady,
Lived in Bannu Fort, drank from Sarol spring,
And Badram gave them rice.)

All the places mentioned in this rhyme are near Chamba town. Bannu has the remains of a fort, Sarol a spring of clear water, and Badram the best rice in the neighbourhood. The Hills are full of such rhymes about people and places of the countryside, and with a metre like the sound of a cantering horse. They are racy of the soil and as natural to their surroundings as the birds, beasts and flowers, and sometimes in a queer odd way reflect a bit of local history. The rhyme just quoted is a case in point. The Rana Rihila had a striking personality which impressed itself on the people of the countryside. But, as he openly defied the Raja, people shrank from commemorating his exploits too directly, and so his name survives in a furtive, under-hand fashion in this rhyme.

Once a year in Chamba there is a picturesque ceremony which dates back to ancient times. All the Ranas and chiefs and village

headmen come into Chamba to renew their homage to the Raja. Ornamental arches in the form of gates with towers are put up on the four roads which lead to the four provinces of Chamba, and they are decorated with the appropriate local symbols, so that the men of each province come into Chamba town under their own signs. A great durbar is held, where the Raja sits in state with his mosahibs (peers), soldiers and ministers, and receives homage. Afterwards there are sports, old and new. Among the former are wrestling and archery, polo and tent-pegging. Among the latter are a tennis tournament, and musical chairs on horseback.

The Hills, as the Himalayas are often called, exercise a singular charm over traveller and visitor. White peaks in the sky is the image quickest conjured up by their name. The Persians see the western peaks, the Chinese the eastern. But in all this vast expanse of snow and mountain there is no more attractive region than the Rajput Himalayas, of which Chamba forms a part. Over most of this country the means of travel are the same nowadays as they have been at any time during the last few thousand years, mountain ponies and mules. They are both riding and pack animals. Wild tracks, hardly deserving the name of paths, skirt precipices, and when they leave the hillside for a moment, disappear completely into the boulder-strewn bed of a dry river. These river "roads" are not dry all the year round. In the rainy season there is a boiling torrent in place of the "road." Journeying in the Hills is rough, and the traveller is apt to recall with regret the comforts of the Plains. But gradually the glamour of the Hills steals over him. It may be the blue of the mountains, receding to the skyline in range after range of ever softer shades, or it may be the scent of the pines, which brings the mysterious peace of the mountains. But it is time to return to Chamba and its art.

The New Palace of the Rajas of Chamba was built about 1860. Its most striking feature is the frescoes in the Picture Room. They were painted by Kangra artists and are varnished. Varnishing came in with the

advent of European influence in the nineteenth century. These frescoes include:

1. A scene of two opposing armies from the Mahabharat. This occupies the whole of one wall.

2. Some curious old sporting scenes, showing Englishmen in top-hats pigsticking, shooting wild buffaloes with pistols from horseback, and hunting bears with hounds. All three are famous old Indian sports, but only the first survives nowadays. These two frescoes were painted when the palace was built (1860).

Other frescoes are of Krishna and Radha and female figures in the Kangra style and various subjects.

The decoration of walls with painting can be traced back to the earliest recorded times of Indian history. The oldest existing examples are in the caves of Ajanta in the Deccan, far from the Himalayan heights. Traces and fragments of medieval frescoes can be found in other parts of India, and examples of work of the nineteenth century are to be seen from Bengal to Lahore. Hindu painting, whether on palmleaf or paper, has stepped down from the walls of palaces and temples. But though stone walls are the most enduring of substances, decorations on them are not. Smoke and dirt, wind and weather, make cleaning and renewal necessary. Hence the disappearance of old frescoes, as already described in the account of the fresco depicted in Plate I. It is strange that painting on flimsy paper or palmleaf should stand so much better chance of survival than work on solid stone. But such is the case.

The later frescoes in the New Palace of the Rajas of Chamba were painted about 1880.

The late Dr. Hutchinson, the historian, of many years' residence in Chamba, and to whom I am indebted for much information, told me that he remembered when they were painted. These frescoes give colour to the walls, but they are not of high artistic quality. For when they were painted the great art of the Hills was dead. In the Durbar Hall of the palace I saw some white felt rugs with coloured designs, such as are

common in the Punjab and Kashmir. These rugs had been made in the nineteenth century, and their pleasant designs in the old Indian style and expressed in vegetable dyes offered a contrast to the poor pattern and aniline dyes of the modern rug.

Above the New Palace is the Old Palace (Plate II). The Old Palace was built in the eighteenth century or earlier, and is an example of the architecture of the Hills. The slope of the roofs and the overhanging eaves are required to throw off the heavy Himalayan rains. The great expanse of blank wall, before the lowest windows are reached, is designed for purposes of defence. Like the medieval castle, the windows of the lower stories open only on to the inner courtyard. There is functional simplicity, and the balance and design of the whole building satisfy the eye.

We now come to Chamba museum. It contains pictures by Kangra Valley artists of scenes from the Mahabharat and Ramayana, and of Krishna and Radha, and female figures. Plate III is a scene from the Ramayana, and shows Rama seated with Sita in the forest. His companions are shooting blackbuck with bows and arrows. The large bird in the foreground is Jayatu, King of the Vultures, and Rama's ally in the war against the demon Ravana. The top of the photograph is clouded, but the chief part of the picture is so clear that it is worth reproducing. The line is delicate and the scene is full of lively action.

The figures are alive. The date is the late eighteenth century. Another interesting picture by a Kangra artist is a portrait of Raja Charat Singh of Chamba (Plate IV). As he was born in 1802, this picture was probably painted about 1830. He is shown smoking in a garden, with his ladies. The scene is a nocturne and the colour is glorious, a wonderful soft blue, reminiscent of a Japanese print of the finest period. But the line is weakening. This picture belongs to the last sunset glow of Kangra Valley art. When line dies, colour cannot stay long, and the last trace of a great art will soon be gone.

In the Chamba museum there are portraits of rajas which are not assigned to the Kangra school, but to local talent. The style of these pictures is similar to that of Basohli. Similar work can be seen in Mandi and Suket, and in the collections of the Kangra Valley, alongside the great style which blended old Hindu with Mogul line. Such work, like the portraits of the rajas in the Chamba museum, lacks the strange vitality and mysterious solemnity of the pre-Mogul art on the one hand, and the lyrical flow of the high Kangra Valley line on the other. It represents a prosaic continuation of the great primitive style of the Hills.

In the Royal Academy exhibition of Indian Art two pictures were assigned to Chamba.—Nos. 638A and 641. The former, dated about 1800, was attractive in the Kangra Valley style.

MODERN INDONESIAN LITERATURE *

By SUKESI BUDIARDJO

THE GROWTH OF THE INDONESIAN LANGUAGE

MALAY, which had been spoken for centuries in South-East Asia, was chosen by the leaders of the various nationalist movements as the means of uniting the various peoples of Indonesia, which was practically impossible through the

medium of any of the two hundred provincial languages, and this experiment was carried into effect before the second World War. A resolution passed at the Indonesian Youth Conference in 1928 stated that Indonesians were of one nation, one fatherland and of one language. Such movements were not con-

Lecture delivered to the Society at the Residence of the Indonesian Ambassador in London.



FRESCO OF RANIA AND SITA.
In courtyard of old temple, Chamba.

Photo by J. C. French.

PLATE II.



OLD PALACE, CHAMBA.

Photo by J. C. French.



RAMA AND SITA IN FOREST.
Chamba Museum.

Photo by J. C. French.



RAJA CHAKRAL SINGH OF CHAMBA.

Born 1802. Succeeded 1854. Died 1864. Visited by traveller Viere in 1835. In Chamba Museum.

Photo. at Copyright of J. G. French.

fined to Indonesia, but were taking place throughout Asia, as the struggle for language is, in fact, always connected with the struggle for freedom. The name "Malay" was discontinued from the time it became the national Indonesian language, and this had a deep significance, because it symbolized the ideal of union of all Indonesian peoples.

The publication of the cultural magazine *Pudjangga Baru* in 1933 was also important, as it championed the cause of one Indonesian language, and in 1938, under the auspices of this magazine, an Indonesian Language Congress was held in Solo. At that time the political and social situation did not raise much hope that Indonesian would become the official language. And then, just after the outbreak of the second World War, this political and social structure changed. The Dutch were cut off from their fatherland when the Netherlands were invaded by the Germans; communication between the Dutch and Indonesia was sporadic, and finally the Dutch Government decreed that the Indonesian language must be learnt. But this plan had not yet been carried out, when suddenly the picture changed again and Japan occupied Indonesia.

The Japanese had no choice but to adopt Indonesian as the means of communicating with the seventy million people; the use of Dutch was forbidden, and it was no longer the official language. It was first advised, and later ordered, that Japanese be taught in schools, offices, factories, etc. It was quite clear that the intention was to make Japanese the official language, but of course this could only take place gradually.

At the beginning of their occupation the Japanese were forced to encourage the growth of Indonesian, as the work of government, economics, education, and indeed of everything, had to proceed without interruption. For Indonesians this meant revolution on a large scale. Hitherto almost all governmental officials, business principals and teachers were "Dutch-educated" and were not familiar with the Indonesian language. Now suddenly all officials were forced to use

Indonesian, and thus the language grew rapidly. More and more efforts were made by the Japanese to force their language and culture on the Indonesians, and it was then that Indonesian became a symbol of unity; the use of the Indonesian tongue was one way of defending our country from Japanese influence!

When the Japanese surrendered in 1945, it became apparent that Indonesian had made vast strides and had really become a satisfactory means of intercommunication. Compared with Dutch, and even the provincial tongues, it had gained an important place, and soon after the proclamation of Indonesian independence Indonesian was made the official language. This could only be effectively achieved, however, if Indonesian attained the same standard as modern languages, otherwise the people would be left behind in this new age, for which so many additional modern words were required. Indonesian had no technical or scientific terms, and during the Japanese occupation a committee was formed to collect these words. This work is still being pursued.

If we now compare Indonesian with Malay, it is evident that the former is influenced both by provincial and certain modern languages, as also by the modern attitude of mind. It is of course absolutely necessary to make Indonesian the common language as well as the official one, and this requires much care and attention. Books and magazines relating to science and technical matters are mostly written in Dutch, so that we are forced to translate them as quickly as possible. Despite the usefulness of these books and magazines, they are unfortunately confined to about five thousand copies of each, which is small considering the population of seventy millions. One reason for this is the poverty of the people; another the large number of illiterates. But, although we have to solve many problems in an endeavour to enrich and perfect the Indonesian language, it is gratifying to realize that the outside world is also interested in it.

MODERN INDONESIAN LITERATURE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIAN LITERATURE

This development really began after the fall of the Netherlands Indonesian Government, although we must not forget that much progress had been made between the two world wars. Publications in the beginning of the twentieth century had not been very interesting, as little attention was paid to the Malay language. In the past Malay literature had consisted chiefly of novels and poetry, which were traditional, owing to the fact that the entire Indonesian community had been bound up with tradition.

The old novels were mostly stories with a moral tendency, and these were too dull for the new generation; but the ancient poems, though written in traditional form, were still popular. The best known of these was the "Pantun," consisting of four lines and written in a romantic vein. In these, the first and third and the second and fourth lines rhyme, and these classic "Pantuns" are learnt by heart.

Under Dutch influence certain Indonesians wrote poems and biographies in Dutch, but when national consciousness began to develop this attitude soon ended and our writers turned to their own language. Their writings, however, were still influenced by the West. The efforts made to find new forms of expression—which was the aim of *Pudjangga Baru*—ended in 1942, which year really marked the end of an epoch.

During the Japanese occupation an enormous amount of literature was accumulated, but this was of course *sub rosa*, as the Japanese censored everything that did not contribute to their propaganda. Thus little of value was published and the novels of this period were saturated with politics.

It was not until 1945 that Indonesian literature was able to develop on a large scale, and a great number of poems and novels were published, as well as many modern plays which were performed with outstanding success. Most of this had been written during the Japanese occupation and remained unpublished because of the censor.

It was at once apparent that there was a great difference between the work of the "war generation" and that of the editor of *Pudjangga Baru*. *Pudjangga Baru* saw everything through the eyes of national idealism, and sometimes this tended to become exaggerated and sentimental. They put great emphasis on rhyme and rhythm, both of which were not thought to be essential by the 1945 generation.

The sorrow and distress endured during the Japanese occupation, and the proximity of death, even after the proclamation of independence, gave a deeper meaning to life. The war generation had grown up with grief, and this tended to find expression in their writings. They at once abandoned the complicated and obtrusive style of the schoolmaster and the agitator, finding it old-fashioned and clumsy, and they acquired a new style of their own, in which their war-time experiences proved of inestimable value.

Attention was focused on foreign literature, such as the English, French, Russian and American authors—Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Ilya Ehrenburg, André Gide, André Malraux, Aldous Huxley, Hemingway, Steinbeck and others, and some of their writings have already been translated into Indonesian.

Among modern Indonesian writers, one of the best known is Takdir Alisjahbana, the editor and one of the founders of *Pudjangga Baru*. He is extremely versatile, being not only an author, but also a lawyer, teacher, poet and essayist. The first novel he wrote, published in 1929, was *Ta Putus Di Rundung Malang*, or "Always Dogged by Ill-Luck." It is the story of two poor orphans, a boy and a girl, who leave their birthplace owing to the ill-treatment of their uncle. After many wanderings they arrive at Bengkulu, but here they have a miserable time, and finally the girl commits suicide. The boy, Mansur, is in jail owing to a false accusation, and after his sister's death and his release he cannot bear to stay in Bengkulu, so he becomes a sailor, and for fifteen years he sails among the Indonesian islands. His austere and lonely life means little to him and he longs for death.

Takdir's second novel, entitled *Dian Jang Tak Kundjung Padam*, or "The Ever-Lighted Lamp," was published in 1932. This is about a poor village boy, Jasin, who falls in love with a rich girl, the daughter of a nobleman from Palembang. The evening before Molek is to be married to a wealthy and unscrupulous Arab Jasin tries to elope with her, but they are unable to carry out this plan. After her marriage the two lovers meet again, but Molek is determined to die. She prefers to wait for her lover in the hereafter than to follow him, now that she feels her body is defiled. After her death Jasin becomes a hermit, and at the end of the book a ward and a protégé of Jasin asks his help. He has eloped with a girl, and they beg Jasin to give them shelter and to save them from their pursuers. He looks at the young couple with a smile full of resignation and joy. They have done what had been denied to him, and the struggle for freedom has come a step nearer. Grateful and content, he gives them his blessing.

I am not going to take Takdir's novels singly, but there is just one more that I wish to talk about. It is called *Lajar Ter-Kembang*, or "Unfurled Sails," and was published in 1938. The story is very simple. Two sisters, Tuti and Maria, meet a medical student who has almost completed his studies. The girls have very different characters. Tuti, the elder, is an intellectual; she is very serious, a fighter for women's rights and a leading figure in all women's movements. The other is a gay, care-free girl who enjoys life. They both fall in love with Jusuf. Tuti had been engaged before, but she broke it off, as she felt marriage would interfere with her more serious work. But she is a woman, and when she sees her sister's happiness at being engaged to Jusuf she suddenly feels lonely and incomplete, and is aware that she is growing older. Then one of her colleagues, a teacher, proposes to her, but she refuses him; and now she feels that she will really be alone for the rest of her life! She struggles against her love for Jusuf, but it grows stronger and stronger. Then suddenly Maria falls ill and is taken to a sanatorium, where she dies. Before her

death, however, she says her dearest wish is for Jusuf and Tuti to marry each other. They do so, and the book ends with the young couple making a pilgrimage to Maria's grave.

I should now like to stress the leading ideas which are expressed in all Takdir's novels and essays. His first aim was to raise Indonesia to a worthy place among the nations; whatever had been the Indonesians' status in the past, he considered in 1930 that they had already been left far behind, both from an intellectual and material viewpoint. He held that, from the time of the middle ages, the West had developed from the static to the dynamic and that the individual had gained an independent place in the community, with a freedom which was often excessive. There were some who fear this excess of freedom. Be that as it may, the West had acquired its cultural, political and economic superiority from this very freedom, though there were varying opinions as to the results of Western development. One thing, however, he strongly maintained was that, if Indonesians were to play an important rôle in the world, they must adapt themselves to the changed conditions of that world; on this Alisjahbana was adamant. Violently he challenged those Indonesians who thought that the mastery of Western techniques was sufficient and that they could then revert to their former status. His opponents countered with the argument that the East, with its spiritual civilization, was in fact far superior to the materialistic West. They spoke of Indonesia's illustrious past, and said that if only the people would revert to that they would be able to rise again. To Takdir this was mere sophistry; it seemed obvious to him that all this nobility of soul and spiritual wealth had no value while the people were hungry, naked and listless. No; the past was no longer desirable, and we must not revert to it! The only basis for a new and vigorous Indonesia was a firm faith in the future, and Alisjahbana was convinced that if Indonesians were to keep up with the tempo of the world they must learn all they could from the West. This, he felt, could best be attained through the literature of the West, but without

embracing its purposeless codes and ideas. The young modern artist must be free, he was his own master, and must not clutter up his mind with tradition if this interfered with his self-expression; and inspiration and personality must replace mere mechanism. But, even after the artist had broken all links with the past, had he then reached his goal? Not entirely; for Takdir was against art for art's sake. He did not approve of the Western idea that the artist was an entity divorced from the rest of the community, and he did not want this imitated in Indonesia, where he felt that the artist should fulfil his function not only as an individual, but also as a leader of his people in their struggle for life and freedom. Takdir Alisjahbana defined the duty of a writer thus: individuality in both the community and literature must be subordinate to the struggle for freedom, and there must be a renewed and conscious binding of the individual to the community. This humanistic attitude is one of Takdir's chief characteristics, and it pervades his novel *Lajar Ter-Kembang*, which is a significant contribution to Indonesian literature. This is written in a pure and trenchant style, with clear and attractive scenic descriptions and a lively dialogue. It is an extremely readable novel and, moreover, stresses his important message of unity.

And now let me talk about Takdir the poet. One of his books of verse is *Tebaran Mega*, meaning "Scattered Clouds." It was begun some days before his wife's death and completed some months later. Here again his style is clear and restrained; though in deep distress, he looks through the scattered clouds to the mountains above, where the sun still shines, and life claims him once more. He feels safe—at one with God—and yet still of the world, where there is little time for dreams and idleness, but only for the struggle for life.

Another writer of Alisjahbana's time is the poet Amir Hamza, whose poems are written in the traditional form and seem to indicate that the old language has not yet died. His verses, in charming rhyme, deal mostly with melancholy and homesickness. He was always longing for his native land, Sumatra,

when he studied in Java, where he felt lonely and an alien. Later, turning his thoughts to the hereafter, he was to feel a stranger in the world, and this religious fervour pervades his poetry. He was born in 1911 and died in 1945.

Other writers—who were also contributors to *Pudjangga Baru*—are Sanoesi Pane and his brother Armyn Pane.

Sanoesi Pane began to write verse when he was sixteen years old. The poems of his first book, published in 1926, were mostly sonnets, as he was much influenced by Western writers. He was also greatly influenced by the Indian poets, as he lived in India for many years and wrote most of his verse there. This is apparent in his choice of subject, and he reveres India as the country of his inspiration. His play *Manusia Baru* is really a story about India, although it could equally well refer to Indonesia. In contrast with his other work, his dramas, of which there are five, two in Dutch and three in Indonesian, are all taken from ancient Javanese history. Sanoesi Pane does not agree with Takdir's wish to break with the past. He is in favour of a continuity in history, and tries to convince his readers that it is impossible to start afresh. Further, he disagrees with Takdir's view in regard to the humanistic place of the writer in the community. In contrast to Takdir, he does believe in art for art's sake.

Armyn Pane is more divorced from the past than his brother, and we may regard him as a forerunner of the 1945 school of thought. His prose is vivid, natural and concise. His last novel *Belenggu*, or "Shackles," published in 1940, is a remarkable book. It is the story of a doctor called Sukartono. He is unhappily married, as his wife feels he neglects her for his practice, while she for her part neglects their home, refusing to be a "slave." Also, she is always thinking of her former young lover. Then one day she sees him again and discovers that her love for him has died, but still she cannot throw off her "shackles" and be more to her husband. The doctor then meets again his former playmate, Eni Jah. She consoles him and becomes his mistress. His marriage becomes more and more unbearable—in fact, it is no longer a marriage

at all; and even Tini doesn't care when she discovers that her husband is being unfaithful to her. She decides to leave him and devote her life to social and charitable works. This, however, does not seem to help her very much, as, strangely enough, she is still conscious of the ties which bind her to her husband. As for Eni Jah, her life with the doctor fails to give her the happiness she sought and she decides to leave him. Finally, we find the doctor deserted by both wife and mistress.

This novel is new in both style and content. It does not revert to the Indonesian past; there is no problem of East and West—no question of any forced marriages. It is, in fact, a psychological novel. Although the ending does not solve the problem of individual freedom, we recognize the writer's own character throughout the book. He is always hesitant, and not knowing whether there is really any purpose in his efforts; and here we see the difference between him and Takdir Alisjahbana, who believes so strongly in his life purpose and his work, while Armyn Pane holds no such ideal. Let me now turn to certain other pre-1945 writers.

Abdul Muis belongs to the older generation of writers. He is well known, not only because of his literary work, but as a journalist and politician. One of his novels, *Salah Asuhan*, or "His Unwise Upbringing," published in 1928, became a best-seller. It is a tale of an Indonesian boy, Hanafi, living in Solok, who acquires a Western education, but of the wrong type; this separates him from his relatives and friends, while he still does not know enough to become a real Westerner. As a boy he had formed a youthful friendship with a girl, Corrie du Bussee, the daughter of a Frenchman and an Indonesian woman. Years later, when he returns from Djakarta, where he has been studying, he meets her again and they discover that their friendship has turned to love. Corrie finds it difficult to refuse him anything, and she therefore leaves Solok in order to avoid him. Hanafi, disillusioned and apathetic, to carry on the traditions of his country, marries an Indonesian girl chosen by his mother. As, however, he has neither

love nor friendship for her, the marriage proves a disaster, and even the birth of a child does nothing to change his indifference. Then he has an accident; he is attacked by a mad dog and has to go to Djakarta to be cured. Here he meets his love Corrie once more, and this time she decides to accept him. As an Islam he is allowed to marry more than one wife. But this marriage also fails; there are scenes and accusations which make life intolerable, and Corrie flies to Semarang, where she finds work. Hanafi, sad and lonely, follows her in an endeavour to bring her back, but it is too late—she is dying. He then returns to his native land, where his first wife awaits him faithfully; but here he only causes trouble and sorrow to his mother, his wife and his son. At last, unable to find a solution, he commits suicide. This is one of the most interesting pre-war novels; the dialogue is vivid and his characters Hanafi and Corrie are realistic. His other novels are of less importance.

I Goesti Njoman Pandji Tisna is a Balinese author who writes of Bali and describes the good and bad qualities of his people. He inserts many lovely folk tales into his novels, and this makes them particularly attractive. Thus he speaks of Bali, in contrast to Takdir, whose scenes are set in Menangkabau and other places in Sumatra. Certain of his books deal with tales of the past century, but his best novels are on historical subjects. One of these, *I Swasti, Setahun di Beda Hulu*, or "I Swasti's Year in Beda Hulu," treats in much vivid detail with the Court of a famous king of the tenth century, but from a psychological point of view his characters are badly drawn. It is, however, worth reading, as it makes its own contribution to Indonesian literature.

Among the men of letters since 1942 we must first mention the famous poet Chairil Anwar, whose first verses were written in 1943 during the Japanese occupation, when he was twenty-one. They were not published until 1945, as they contributed nothing to Japanese propaganda, but his fame preceded publication. These poems, typed on cheap paper, were circulated amongst young writers and poets, who were much impressed

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by his originality and striking choice of words. Many of them tried to imitate him, but with little success. In short, trenchant sentences he could describe moods and feelings as no one else had ever done. But he was more than a writer and a poet: he was also an architect of the Indonesian tongue. He discovered new words and new combinations of words, and he used them with such understanding and imagination that they were soon adopted by other writers. He was an individualist *pur sang*, never to be entangled by woman, friend or organization. He was a wanderer, now joining the soldiers at the front, now the young people in the interior of Java, and again his artistic contemporaries in Djakarta. Thus during the revolution his life was one of adventure, and this wandering spirit is given expression in his verse. In 1949 his collected poems, *Deru Tjampur Debu*, or "A Mêlée of Noise and Dust," were published. He died in April of that year, aged twenty-seven, but in these short years he had held a burning torch to illuminate Indonesian literature. His poems have been translated into Dutch and English.

Rosihan Anwar is another young poet who began to write during the Japanese occupation. He somehow managed to elude the censorship and had several of his poems and short stories published. His poems may be described as "snapshots"—concise and clear, but unflattering. This was no doubt due to the fact that he was also a journalist and wrote brief descriptive articles. He is one of the founders of, and among the chief contributors to, an important weekly magazine published in Djakarta, called *Siasat*, and its cultural supplement *Gelanggang*, meaning "Arena."

Noersjamsoe is a young woman poet who was formerly a teacher. Her poems are pure and gentle and often very moving, as in them she portrays certain weaknesses and imperfections which she finds in herself.

Idrus began to write during the Japanese occupation, but was soon stopped by the censor, and it was not until 1945 that his many short stories were published.

Short stories form a special genre of modern Indonesian literature, to which it is fitting to draw special attention. Many more short stories are written now than before the war, and some of our young writers excel in this type of literature. Among them, as well as Idrus, are Asrul Sani and Pramudya Ananta Tur. The latter joined the army during the revolution and was imprisoned by the Dutch from 1947 to 1949, when he was freed on the transfer of sovereignty. While in prison he translated Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men*, and wrote some very realistic short stories about his experiences at the front. One of them concerns two boys who killed their father because he joined the Dutch army in Djakarta. They then fled the capital and joined the Indonesian army in the interior of Java. One morning, a little later, when on guard duty, the younger brother is pondering on this fatal deed and suddenly realizes it is his own father he has murdered. His brother tries to reassure him, saying it was the only thing they could do, but he remains full of sorrow and foreboding that he himself will be killed in battle. The story ends with the roll-call.

There are also great developments in the modern play, known as *Sandiwara*, which was just coming into prominence before the Japanese occupation. Mohamed Jamin and the Pane brothers had already written many *Sandiwara* before the war, but these were mostly on ancient and classical Hindu subjects, whereas the modern play deals with happenings of today.

El Hakim (a pseudonym for Dr. Abu Hanilah) has written several modern plays, in which the above-mentioned young writer, Rosihan Anwar, takes the leading part. *Taufan diatas Asia*, meaning "A Hurricane over Asia," and other plays of El Hakim have already been performed in Indonesia with outstanding success. The growth of the modern Indonesian play is a direct result of the development of the Indonesian language, as the classic Javanese plays were always acted in Javanese. I cannot, however, deal with this subject at any length, as it would form a lecture in itself.

TERRACOTTAS OF THE RUINED TEMPLES OF BENGAL

By ANGELA LATHAM

THE village of Serul in Bengal is one of hundreds of half-ruined and deserted relics of past glory which are rapidly being invaded by jungle, and whose beauty, unless steps are taken to record it at once, will soon be lost for ever. It lies to the north-west of Santiniketan, on the Bolpur loop line, some three hours' train journey from Calcutta.

During the rains the only sure method of transport for the last few miles is a bullock cart, for motors, which are scarce, cannot negotiate the flooded sandy tracks between the paddy fields. But to those who love village India how well worth while is the pilgrimage, and what nostalgic charm survives in the exquisite brick temples (Fig. 1) amongst their gleaming emerald of palms. We find the great tank overgrown, and the neglected gardens bear witness to malaria, which undermines the energy of the few villagers, and fine houses seem haunted by a past as do those in fairy tales.

Here, when the British Indigo Company thrived, numerous shrines were endowed for worship, and in about 1750 the ancestors of the present Zamindar erected one of loveliest pillared halls that I remember. Even now in desolation it is magnificent, with colonnaded cloister and temple, with stabling, dwelling house and refectory, a grass court, green as chrysoprase, and the old brick cookhouse for pilgrims.

At the time of my visit a great Durga image was being modelled in the central cell of the temple in preparation for the rice festival (Fig. 2). It was still headless and unpainted, but one saw vague outlines of grey clay taking shape over the straw-covered armature—Ma Durga, the mother goddess, standing with one foot on a splendid lion and the other on the demon of evil, whom she slays. On one side of her Lakshmi to bring luck and wealth, and on the other Sarasvati

for wisdom and education, both graceful and alluring figures, showing how the long tradition of modelling in India survives to the present day.

Near to the Zamindar's house is a wonderful group of shrines—a large Vishnu temple with five pinnacles and a curved façade supported on three columns (Fig. 3), and two small pepperpot shrines with narrow doorways, dedicated to Siva (Fig. 4). The decoration of these buildings in red baked tiles is most charming and dignified. The flat effect and miniature scale give an impression of engraved sandstone, yet each tile is beautifully modelled and baked without warping, individually lovely, and part of a satisfactory scheme. The subjects on this curved façade are taken from the Mahabharata and from Hindu folk-lore, and each group deserves long study, but time and the jungle press, and you notice how many of the doorways are already marred by gaping hollow places where terracottas have fallen or been taken as toys. We must look at some of the other buildings in this lovely village (Fig. 5). Crossing a grassy space between mud houses whose thatched roofs suggest the lines of the temples, we find another five-pinnacled shrine dedicated to Siva (Fig. 6). Notice the rectangle of tiny portrait heads peeping out of niches as from windows.

This traditional form of decoration has survived from very early times, and is used on most of the Serul doorways (Fig. 7). Above the arch we often see pairs of figures in European dress, and are reminded that the date of these shrines (which is found on the tile above the centre of the arch and looks pale in the photograph) is only some eighty years ago (Fig. 8). On every side are pretty little shrines, no two alike, some of plaster (Fig. 9), but most of brick covered in fine moulded clay tiles. Doubtless the

TERRACOTTAS OF THE RUINED TEMPLES OF BENGAL

building and decoration was undertaken by travelling guilds of craftsmen who moved from village to village as required, using the best local clay, which here is extremely fine and of a rich red colour.

Mr. Mukul Dey of Santiniketan (Fig. 10), who took me to Serul, told me that the black lingam stones for the Siva shrines were carved in dark granite in Benares and brought to the villages by river and bullock cart, and that during the last century alone some hundred thousand were set up in Bengal. Mr. Mukul Dey has been for years discovering and recording these small shrines, but it is work for the lion-hearted. There are thousands of unknown and forsaken villages in Bengal and Birkhum filled with such gems. To photograph them entails camping in malarial sites, sometimes after a three weeks' journey by bullock cart—an expensive labour which requires endowment, and unless funds can be found abroad the hundreds of photographs already taken cannot be published. During his exploration of these temples Mr. Mukul Dey has found much which throws light on the technique of the travelling guilds. He showed me the instructions in baked brick where the covering tiles had vanished, which indicated the exact position of each one. Evidently the façades were most carefully designed, several of each moulded tile made and only the best used. It is a thousand pities that for lack of funds these delightful little treasures should

decay unrecorded, as they are so rapidly doing.

How lovely, too, might be the new buildings in India could her craftsmen be again employed to mould the façades of secular erections as so recently they were employed on these shrines. One finds the old ability in the makers of Puja figures (Fig. 11). There are quarters in Calcutta devoted solely to this craft, and before the smooth finish and crude colour are added the figures show magnificent modelling. Often the feet and hands are moulded, as were the figures on our temples, but as these statues are destined to be drowned in the river after the festival, and only enjoy some ten days of life, they are not baked or made of hard clay.

Some of the groups are so fine that one regrets their transience, but since it means that all the while new figures must be made, which employs the craftsmen the whole year round, it has advantages.

May I end with one more plea for the endowment of Mr. Mukul Dey's records, since the publication of the exquisite terracottas he has found would prove an inspiration to lovers of beautiful things. No one who has not seen his photographs can have any idea of the incredible wealth of design which is being lost with these neglected temples.

All the photographs shown were taken by Mrs. Latham except Plate 2, which is by permission of Mr. Mukul Dey.

INDIAN CULTURE IN MAURITIUS

By K. Hazareesingh

IT gives me a real pleasure to come here this evening and talk to you of Indian culture in Mauritius. It is also an honour that Lord Pethick Lawrence should be in the chair. So profound is his understanding of any subject touching India and so deep his love for her civilization that we can class him in the line of those famous Englishmen

whose names will always be remembered with gratitude by all Indians. It is no less delightful to be able to address such a distinguished audience from the platform of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society.

Before I come to my subject proper, may I give in broad outline the historical background of Mauritius. It was discovered by

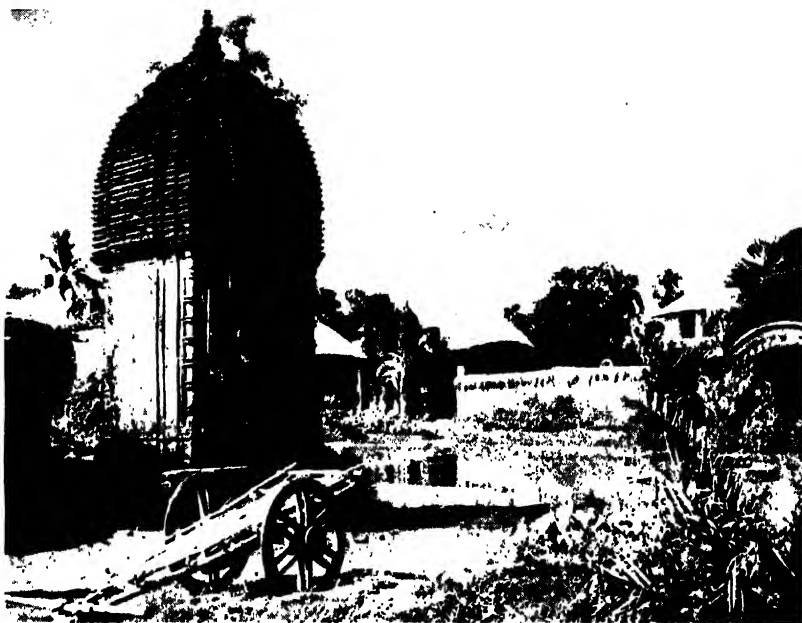


FIG. 1. THE VILLAGE OF SERUI.



FIG. 5. NOTICE THE CURVED LINE OF HOUSE ROOF REFLECTED IN THAT OF THE SHRINES.

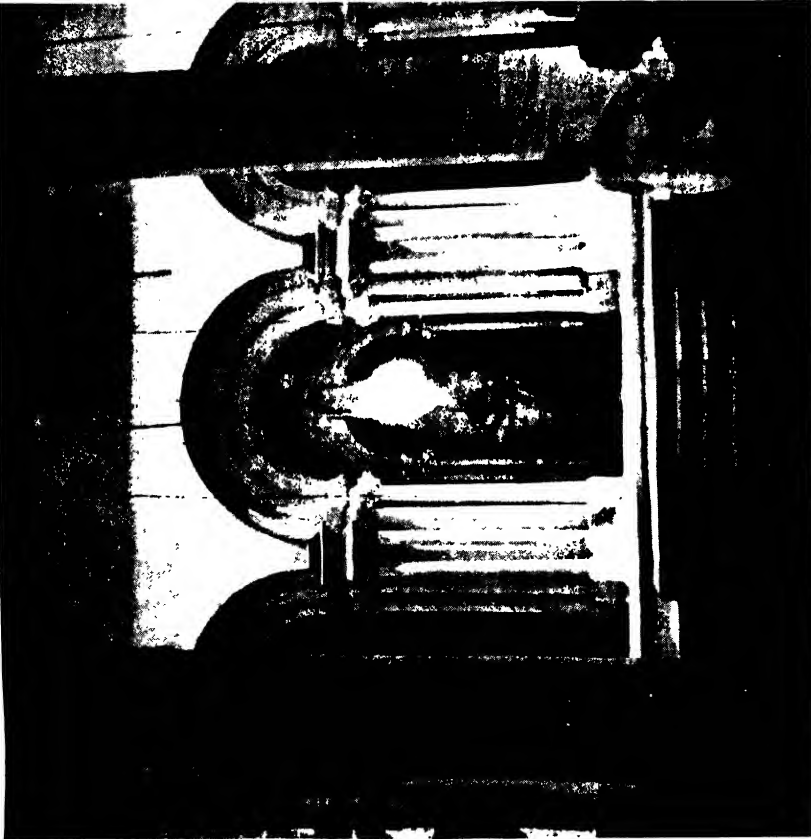


FIG. 2. PILLARED HALL.
The beautiful arcade runs all round the cloister surrounding this but with slightly flatter arches and without capitals.

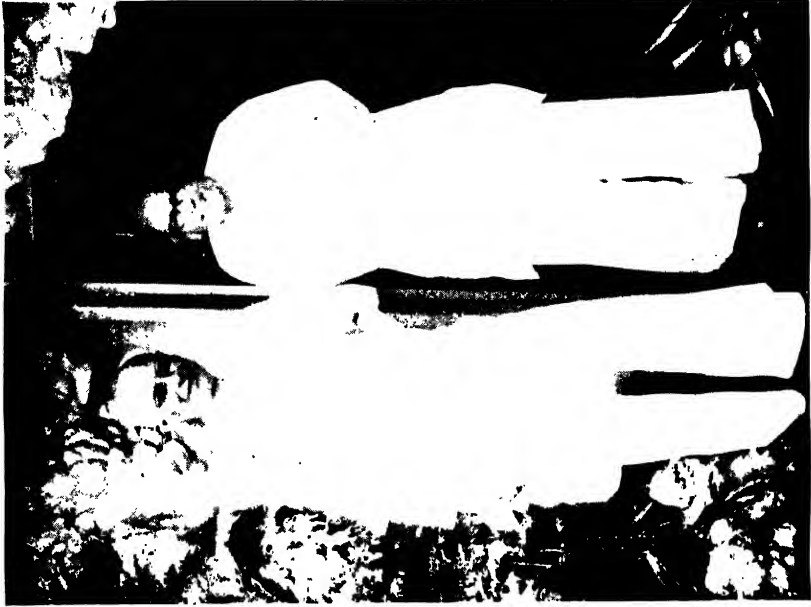


FIG. 10. MR. RATINDRA TAGORE WITH MR. MUKUL DEY
AT THE DOOR OF MR. TAGORE'S STUDY AT SANTINI KETAN,
September, 1949.

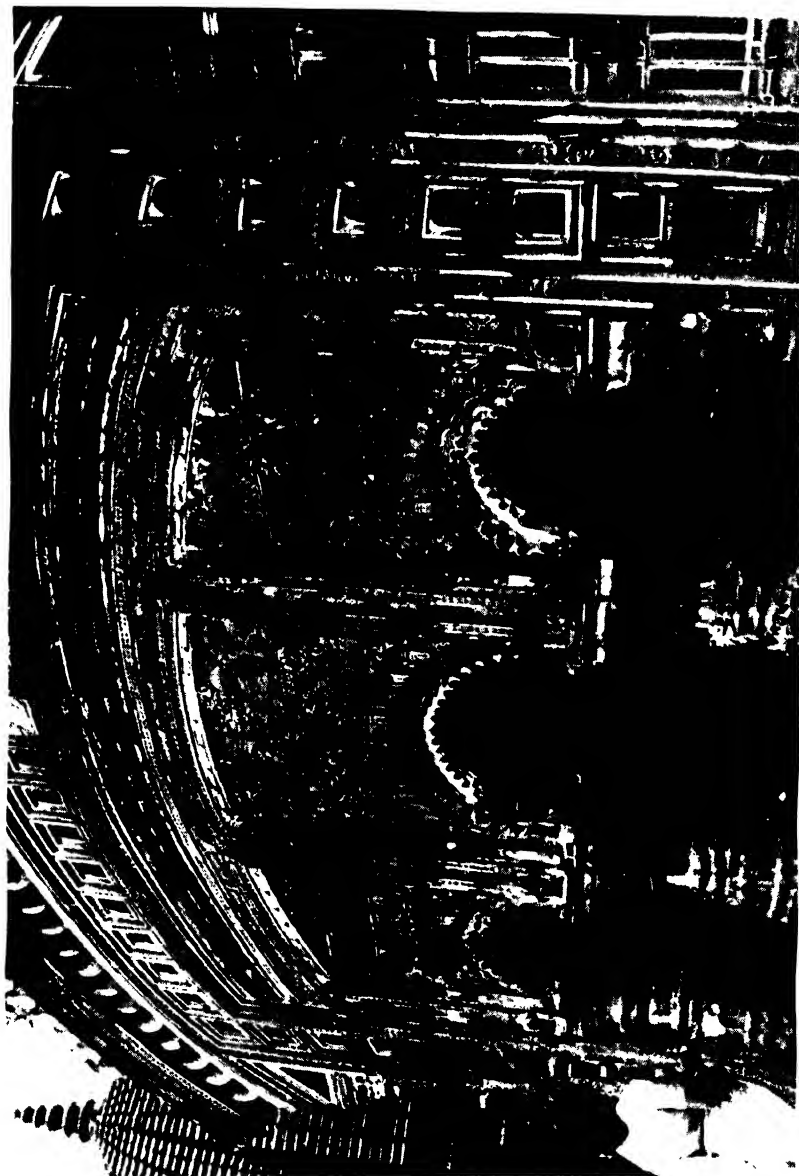


FIG. 3. MRS. MUKUL DEY LOOKS UP AT THE PALE DATESTONE IN THE CENTRE OF THE CURVED FAÇADE OF THIS FIVE-PINNACLED SIVA SHRINE.

PLATE IV.

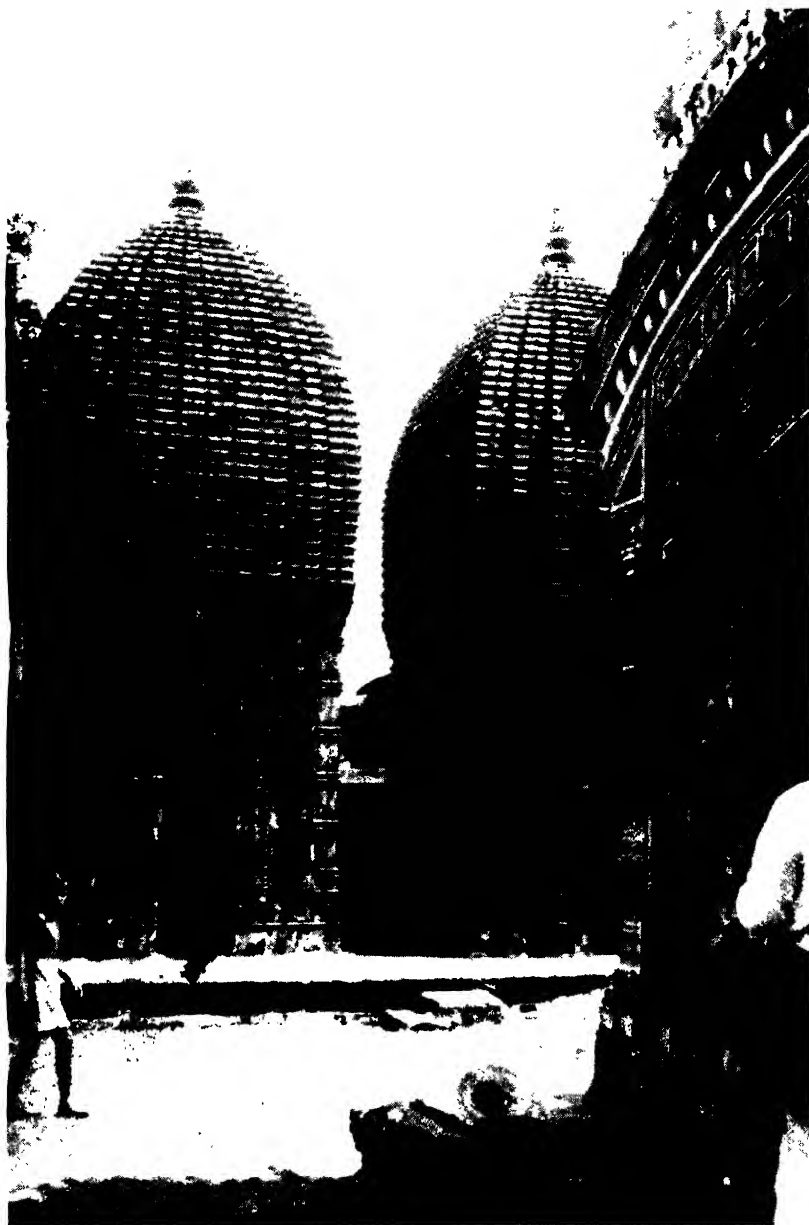


FIG. 4. TWO SMALL PEPPER-POT SHRINES WITH GRACEFUL, NARROW DOORWAYS
BEAUTIFULLY DECORATED.



FIG. 9. CHARMING PLASTER DOVES AND STUCCO ORNAMENT ON SHRINE BEING SWALLOWED BY JUNGLE.

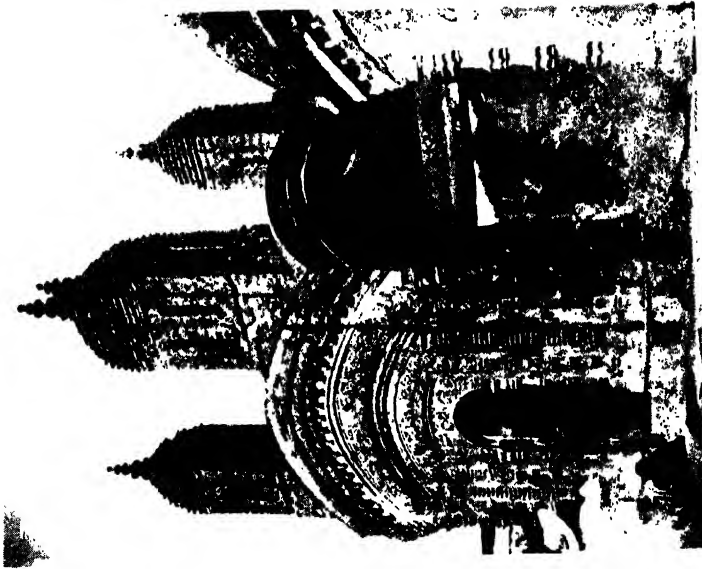


FIG. 6. MR. MUKUL DEV FOCUSES ON SMALL SIVA SHRINE ON RAISED PLATFORM.



FIG. 7. THESE HEADS MUCH RESEMBLE THOSE EDGING ETRUSCAN
TERRACOTTA SARCOPHAGI.



Centre.



L. Proper.



R. Proper.

FIG. 8. DETAIL OF TERRACOTTAS ABOVE DOORWAY.



FIG. 11. PUJA FIGURES IN ONE OF THE BOTTEGAS.
Mr. Sailjoo Mukerjee, the painter in white shirt. Statues of clay, painted.

the Portuguese in the early years of the sixteenth century, but the first settlement was made by the Dutch in 1598, and they abandoned the island in 1710. They brought slaves from Madagascar, exploited the island's great ebony forest and exterminated the dodo. The French came in 1715 and began in real earnest to colonize Mauritius. Under the great governor, Mahé de Labourdonnais, the Île de France, as the island was then called, played a notable part in the struggle for supremacy in India between England and France. He recruited Indians from Pondicherry for the building of bridges and fortifications, and had recourse to slave labour from Africa to work on the plantations. Under French rule the development of the sugar industry had already started, and, as Joseph Conrad has written, "first-rate sugar cane came from there; all the population lived for it and by it, sugar was their daily bread." In 1810 the British conquered Mauritius, but allowed the French to retain their language, customs and religion. Since then French culture has maintained its predominating influence in Mauritius; all educated Mauritians speak the tongue of Molière, the daily newspapers are published in French, and it is spoken in the Legislative Council and in the courts of the colony. Mauritius is very densely populated; in an area of 720 square miles there is a population of 472,000, and of this number 265,000 are Indians. Of these about 50,000 are Muslims and the rest Hindus. In the course of my lecture I shall be talking mostly of Hindu culture, with which I am more familiar, but the picture I will draw is broadly true of the Indian community as a whole.

Perhaps with the exception of Ceylon, Mauritius is the only place outside India where the old culture of our ancestors blooms like a lotus. And this in spite of the fact that Indians came to Mauritius more than a hundred years ago as indentured immigrants. The early years of the nineteenth century were not easy times for these adventurous people, who left their homeland in search of fortune elsewhere. Many were the hardships

and difficulties they had to endure in those days; but they were quite confident in their future. They were not to be tossed hither and thither by life's stormy waves. They had very clear objectives in front of them, and once you know the goal the way to it becomes easy.

It might seem too lyrical if I were to say that in bidding farewell to their native shores they were going out into the world as missionaries of their nation's culture; yet in their humble ways, were they not also following in the footsteps of those who, many centuries before, went to Bali, Java and Sumatra to spread the light that radiated from their country's age-long culture. Be that however it may, Indians in Mauritius had no sooner landed than they blazed out the torch of their cultural heritage. Among some old papers connected with the very early period of Indian immigration I came across a document in which was recorded that many of them had in their possession copies of the Mahabharata and of the Ramayana. But even those who could not read these immortal epics were conscious of their inheritance; in their childhood they had heard of the golden age of Arya Varta, and the story of Rama and Sita was not unknown to most of them.

We can think of them assembled in their Baitak, happy and contented, looking only at the future and not bemoaning the woes of the present. How many of them must have found inspiration in the lofty philosophy of Rama, who after the years of exile marched to Ajodhia as the hero of his loving people. It was the realization that their years of exile would also end that steeled their spirit in their journey through life.

It is to the credit of those who brought them to Mauritius for the effective development of the sugar plantations in the island that every facility was given to them to practise their faith without any hindrance. On every estate there was a Baitak, or village club, where the immigrants would gather in the evenings and read the religious books. Life was to follow the same pattern as in India. Social discipline was to be

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thoroughly observed, and the injunctions of the caste system had to be obeyed in all rigidity.

Indian settlements were in the vicinity of the sugar estates. Believing that economic security was a requisite for success in life, they saved money and were able to buy land from their employers at very fair terms. Some of the big estates were broken up and small allotments were sold to Indians. By 1900 so advanced were they economically that they held 42 per cent. of the cultivated area of the colony.

If the religious observances of the Hindus were different from those of their Muslim brothers, they lived, however, like one community from the social point of view. In the social gatherings Indians of all creeds and of all provinces would meet together: Biharis, Tamils, Maharashtrians, and if not every one of them possessed a knowledge of the written Devanagri, Hindustani was the common language of them all.

The reading of the sacred books was by no means the only activity in which they indulged; Indian society in those palmy Victorian days was a very closely-knit structure, and it was in the village clubs that the fullness of social life found expression. There was a headman in every village, and there is at least one instance on record when a coronation ceremony was performed for the nomination of a village elder to the position of chieftain. He was the virtual ruler of the community, and it was through the Panchyat that he was able to exercise his authority. It was his responsibility to see that this institution functioned in the best interest of the community. To safeguard the caste was its primary object. Marriage outside one's group was taboo, and he would be a bold offender who dared to break the rule. Religious ceremonies were performed at regular intervals at the seat of their community centres, and every adult member in the village had to take part. This meant not only attendance, but he had also to contribute to the expenditure according to his financial position. The most important of these ceremonies was Katha, which was per-

formed every month, and Bhagwat, which used to take place at Christmas-time. Men and women turned up in hundreds to listen to the priest, who emphasized in very simple words the goodness and glory of Parmeshwar and pointed out how the wickedness of men and tyranny of rulers defeated their own ends. It did not matter in the least to them if the sermons were echoes of historical truth or not; they were not interested in the disputations of scholars; for them it was the purity and steadfastness of life which is enshrined in India's religious books that made such a profound impression upon them.

They regarded the organization of their society as one of the most remarkable social structures in which they could live, and they had an absolute faith in customs and traditions which had been sanctioned by time. They observed and celebrated all the festivals throughout the year, and the elders of the village would see to it that there was no departure from this rule. Those who broke the traditional rules were severely dealt with. Offenders were punished in various ways. Sometimes they had to shave half of their head and attend the Baitak meetings in that state, or they had to go to the temple every day for a specified period. Although the corner stone of their faith was a superior divinity, this was symbolized in the worship of the various deities, Shiva, Krishna, Vishnu, and towards the end of the last century magnificent Shiva temples were set up in the island on the architectural model of those in India.

It was from this time that, on the occasion of the Shivaratri festival, there began the annual pilgrimage of Shiva devotees which has continued with undiminished fervour till our own days. From all over the island thousands of pilgrims go on foot to a distant lake called the Grand Bassin, known among Hindus as Puritalav, which is in the heart of a large forest. They spend a night there, and in the morning they collect water from the lake and bring it to the temple, performing the return journey as well on foot, covering in all a distance of about sixty miles. Hindus in Mauritius had to discover

their Ganges and build up their Kashi; they wanted communion with divinity in the manner of their ancestors, as much as this could be possible in a foreign land, and they found a formula which satisfied their spiritual life.

The spiritual leaders were invariably Brahmins, and it is partly to them that we owe the survival of the nation's culture in those far away lands. They wielded a great moral influence on the growth of the community, and perhaps things might have taken a different course but for their ability to preserve in all its pristine freshness the cultural ideals that have been handed down to us through the generations. The spiritual leader, known as the Purohit, formed part of the family structure. He was consulted as to the most auspicious moment for taking a decisive step in life, whether it concerned the reaping of the harvest or changing the house. His most important role, however, consisted in arranging marriages, and he did so entirely to suit the wishes and convenience of the parents at whose request he was undertaking the job! Of course neither the bridegroom nor the bride had any say in the matter.

The bridegroom had not to bend a bow before his Sita, but he had to go through an exacting course of ceremonies before being worthy of wearing the bridal crown. I shall not go into the very complicated ritual which attended those ceremonies, as they may not be altogether foreign to you. I have gone through the experience myself, and I can recall the mild feeling of apprehension, but pleasurable all the same, when in the cold evening of a Mauritian winter the ladies of the house gave me a thorough rub with a highly scented mixture of saffron and other things for several days preceding the wedding day.

The picturesqueness of the marriage celebrations are no less a remarkable feature. In those days there were no motor-cars, and even the railway had not made its appearance. The bridegroom's party went to the bride's home in mule carts carrying tents. Three or four carts went together to remote villages, and the journey took several days.

The bridegroom's party were well decorated. Some of his suite went on foot and met the party near the place of marriage. According to a time-honoured custom, they had to reach their destination before sunset. Food on the way was provided by the bridegroom's parents, and at night they slept under the tents they carried.

On reaching the place, the portable tent was pitched for the incoming party to rest in, and while the marriage ceremony was taking place in a separate tent, they all watched the performance of dancing girls and kept awake the whole night. The meal was never served before midnight, and just as in the case of the Katha ceremony, the guests attending the wedding, especially those from the village, sent contributions in cash or kind which helped towards defraying the heavy cost of marriage. The bride and her mother also received gifts from friends and relatives. The dowry had to be as high as possible, and in return the bridegroom had to present some solid gold jewelry.

Life was regulated according to the rules of the joint family system, which provided help and support even to distant relatives who happened to share the same roof. The father was head of the household, and all the income of the constituent members of the family came either into his hands or those of his wife. And so it was that sons and daughters, nephews and nieces, enjoyed equality of status. All available hands farmed the land and thus enjoyed collectively the fruits of their labour. In case the parents died, the responsibility of looking after the junior members of the household was assured by the eldest brother, and the property was not divided up, as a general rule; although the laws of succession did not debar the daughters from inheritance, in practice they were deprived of it.

To add to the gaiety of life there were theatrical performances in the villages, most notable of which were the Ramlilas and the Indar Sabha, and although they had not much artistic finish, because of lack of professional training, they satisfied the craving for the indigenous culture. The most popular

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rejoicing was, however, the Muslim festival Muharram, more generally known as the Tajiah. It is hardly celebrated today, but some twenty years ago it was held with much enthusiasm on every sugar estate in the island. Much of the religious spirit had died out of these local festivals, and it was a national rejoicing for the people every year. Everybody in the village flocked to the celebration ground, the majority of course being Indians, and they took part in the amusements until late in the night. The chief feature was a wrestling match contested by the best wrestlers in the island. On every estate there were one or two of these wrestlers, and they were well looked after by the manager, so that he might have the prestige of winning the contest for his estate. A huge tower made of bamboo and covered with paper of several colours was erected on the celebration ground. It was generally four stories high, the base being wider than the rest.

The Indian community had a fairly wide range of musical instruments. There was the drum, which was used singly to create the right atmosphere, as an accompaniment to mark cadences, and also as a universal accompaniment. There were the cymbals, which enabled everybody present to take part in the performance. In the more advanced and developed groups, there was an orchestra: a sort of monochord, the castanets, the rattle, the violin and the sitar. Sitar players were few, but they were well accomplished. In the temples, the conch, flutes and trumpets were used.

In regard to dress, the women wore a sort of skirt and a shawl, while the men invariably took to the dhoti. Some had the pugri and others tied a big handkerchief round their head.

Although some of them were going to schools and colleges, education in the sense of receiving the intellectual benefits of the West had not yet extended its beneficent influence to the whole community. It is interesting to point out that as far back as 1858 an ordinance was put in the statute book for making education compulsory for

all the children of Indian immigrants, and defaulting parents were to be fined for neglecting to send their children to school. The scheme fell through, as an objection was taken by the East India Company that these Indian children could not be forced to learn a language that was foreign to them. A suggestion was then made to send some teachers from India, but nothing came of it. Yet the effort to promote Indian culture, through religious observances, through art and through music, continued unabated. The knowledge of the sacred books of India was imparted to succeeding generations through the Baitaks, and numerous were the teachers who devoted many hours in the week explaining, sometimes under the shade of a tree, all that had gone into the making of the nation's civilization. In this way the light of knowledge penetrated into the houses of the humblest Indians.

The twentieth century brought about a number of improvements in the general conditions of Indians. They had now a stake in the colony; quite a few had acquired considerable fortunes and had come into the possession of big estates. The progress they had achieved in sixty years was altogether remarkable, but if their own exertions and self-sacrifice helped them on, it was also true that they found inspiration in the cultural ideals of the motherland, which in their eyes were as fresh as the opening eyelids of morn. Those community centres in which they spent their leisure hours were humble cottages, mostly mud huts, but when assembled inside their modest walls their hearts and minds turned to India, and as if time and distance were annihilated, they held converse with those men of learning sitting in the temples of the holy city of Benares or communion with those Yogis lost in meditation on the banks of the Jamuna. And though caste still pressed its harsh claims, the social contact between the various Varnas was full of the warmth of human relationship. Mauritius has never known some of the more obnoxious taboos. The twice born, whoever he might have been, had not to live in dread of being polluted by

the shadow of those supposed to be of another social level, nor were drinking-waters made impure by the hand of some impious user. The manifestations of the caste system were still severe enough, though shorn of some of its more rigorous clauses.

As the years went by Mauritius Indians came more under the influence of the cultural Renaissance that was taking place in India. While to the older generations Bharat Mata was the symbol of a vision, the land of Krishna and the abode of Draupadi and Damianti, where nectar always flowed in the milky pool, there now came into the consciousness of their descendants the living India of Tagore and Gandhi, of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, of Dayanand and Tilak.

Educated Indians were now able to probe into the very depth of India's mind. The works of Tagore, Iqbal, Sarojini Naidu, Premchand, Chatterjee and other writers became popular in Mauritius, and college students began to learn by heart some of the famous poems of the Gitanjali. In the twenties some Indian artists visited the island and gave some theatrical performances, and contacts between Mauritius and India became more frequent. Gandhi, who stopped in Mauritius for a week on his last journey to South Africa, was able to report to Gokhale that he was very impressed by what he had seen of Indians in the colony.

A turning-point in Indian cultural development came shortly before the outbreak of World War I. It was the advent of the Arya Samaj and the arrival in Mauritius of Bhardwaj, the first Arya Samaj leader. It at once captured the imagination of a great proportion of the rising generation, and, though some of its reforms met with opposition, it continued its pioneering work, and within a decade saw the fruits of its endeavour in the rapid expansion of Hindi schools in Mauritius. It stood for the abolition of the caste system, the removal of purdah, the education of girls, and a more positive approach to the basic principles of a religious philosophy. If I may venture a criticism regarding the method of approach,

I will say this: that in their zeal for reform the promoters of this healthy movement failed to realize that the Indian mind responds more readily to symbols and could not acquiesce in a wholesale condemnation of traditional beliefs in rituals and dogmas which were embedded in the very fabric of their lives. However, even those who were not prepared to go the whole way responded to the clarion call of Swami Dayanand for a reorientation of our cultural outlook.

By and large the picture I have been describing to you has not very much altered, though there may be changes here and there. Those of us who have been nurtured on the Vedic lore and have seen the most splendid manifestations of the ancient culture, be they the glamour of a marriage ceremony or a learned priest unfolding as on a picture screen the great story of Sudama in his quest for a boon from Krishna, or recounting the heroic feats achieved by Arjuna on the battlefield of Kurukshetra, we still feel stirred by the charm and beauty of an ancestral culture, even though the outward form has changed somewhat. We may have changed the form of the wedding ceremony, but the old mantras, which come from the Vedas, are still recited by the priest, who is not necessarily a Brahmin; our marriage laws have remained the same, and the Pandal is still decorated with mango leaves as in the past.

And now what of the future? My friend Mr. Richter, who has so many claims on our gratitude for his devoted work in the field of Indian art and letters, asked me if I could point out the shape of things to come. We are quite sure that the broad stream of Indian culture will continue to flow on undefiled, but it is possible that it may have to deflect its course. We cannot remain static while the world moves on, we have to adjust our positions to fit in with our environment; what has become obsolete must be dropped, and we must not hesitate to adopt new ways and new values and assimilate them into the framework of our thoughts. After all, Indian culture has carried out this process of

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assimilation throughout the centuries. It is in this mood that we are trying to fashion our cultural life in Mauritius. Speaking for myself, I am not sure if the caste system should not be thoroughly overhauled. I have no quarrel with it in so far as it has ensured in the past the cohesion of Hindu society, but with the upward mobility and the acceleration of social life which is now taking place, it is my view—and I expressed it rather strongly once to Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy—that if caste, as an institution, is left untouched, it might split the society and break the whole structure. There cannot be any justification in our age for any individual to claim superiority merely on the ground of birth. We believe rather that Indian culture can play a more uniting role, not only by bringing together the component parts of our own society, but in bridging the gap between the different groups of our larger community, linking up race with race in the understanding and appreciation of love, truth, beauty and goodness, which stand as the eternal heritage of all mankind. Towards that end we founded fifteen years ago the Indian Cultural Association that follows humbly the same faith as Tagore's Viswa Bharati in the pursuit and fulfilment of its ideals.

Our love for the culture of our forefathers is, however, not incompatible with our love for our island home, but living as we do at the confluence of two great civilizations, we believe that it is only by understanding one another that we can best achieve the harmony of life. The Indian Cultural Association was designed not merely for revitalizing spiritual ties with the motherland, but as a centre for the diffusion of thought and learning, bearing in mind the contribution that Western philosophical values have to make to intellectual development. At the inaugural meeting of the Association we called on Dr. John de Lingen, who has served the cause of Indian culture with the fervour of an Edward Thompson, to deliver an address on Rabindranath Tagore, and shortly after Mr. R. E. Hart, the great Mauritian poet, gave a lecture on Barrès, the celebrated

French author. Professor Radhakrishnan, who was then in Oxford, greeted our effort, and joined the Association as an honorary member, and so did other well-known figures in India, such as Raja Maharaj Singh, the present Governor of Bombay, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Sir C. P. Ramaswami and the late Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee. In the island itself we were able to secure the collaboration of all the front-rank writers, and in our quarterly journal some of the best minds of Mauritius found expression both in English and in French. We had not long to wait before this co-operative effort became fruitful. Within a few years Dr. de Lingen produced an English translation of the Gita which Tagore thought was a remarkable piece of work, while Mr. Hart published a collection of Vedic poems which may well be compared to the works of some of the famous orientalists in the West. There were also lectures in Hindi on Sankaracharya and other Indian philosophers.

This then, my lord, is a brief sketch of the state of Indian culture in Mauritius. We owe as much to our own heritage as we do to the cultural legacy of the West, and as it must follow, our lives are moulded by the interaction of these two forces. Much yet remains to be done. The great need for the present is to extricate the little island from its isolation. Speaking from a general point of view, I am sure that there is a widespread desire in Mauritius to receive the visits of eminent artists, writers and painters from this country, and they will find an eager public to welcome them. I was very much impressed by Ram Gopal's performance. The highly developed style of his dances does indeed throw into sharp relief the grace and finish of Indian art, and it would help to diffuse all that is indestructible in India's ancient culture if this ambassador of our art were to visit a few of the distant outposts in the Indian Ocean and give a measure of the classical perfection which has been achieved by India in a field which has yet to receive its full recognition from the world. May I now conclude, my lord. Concepts and interests may differ in Mauritius, but there

is a unity of outlook among the island inhabitants, and we do believe in the possibility of a harmonizing or synthesis of the two cultures of the East and the West. It is towards that end that our best efforts are directed, and the possibilities of realization

in a small community are not so remote. Should we ever achieve the goal, it will be a proud day for us all. A small unit of the Commonwealth will have shown the way in the building of a framework of society in which there will be no conflict.

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INDO-PORTUGUESE EMBROIDERIES OF BENGAL

By JOHN IRWIN

AMONG Indo-Portuguese embroideries preserved in museums and private collections in Europe and America there is a well-known and distinctive group of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century quilts usually labelled *Goaese*. The purpose of this article is to show that they were made not in Goa but in Bengal; and, by explaining the relation of the style to the local art traditions of this part of India, to help towards a better understanding of this class of work as a whole.

Embroideries belonging to the group survive in fair numbers.¹ They are sufficiently uniform in style and repetitive in subject-matter to suggest that they were produced as commodities by an organized industry rather than in the more casual circumstances of domestic embroidery. Two outstanding characteristics of the group are, first, that the monochrome silk used for the embroidery is invariably yellow (sometimes faded to a brownish-fawn), and, secondly, that the needlework covers almost every square inch of the ground. Designs are of the pictorial type, usually incorporating hunting scenes with European figures (Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4); ships and underwater scenes with fishes, mermaids, etc. (Figs. 2 and 3); and illustrations either of Old Testament stories, or legends from the Græco-Roman classical repertoire (Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4). The designs are interspersed throughout with birds, animals, flowers, and decorative motives borrowed from both Indian and European tradition. The motives of European origin are mostly of conventional Renaissance style, sometimes copied faithfully (as in the treatment of the grotesques in the fourth border-panel from the right at Fig. 3), but more commonly Indianized to an extent that renders them only vaguely recognizable as European (as in the third border-panel from the right at Fig. 2). Besides features of Italianate Renaissance origin, the designs

include details borrowed from sixteenth-century Spanish and Portuguese art. Examples of these are the double-headed eagle² (Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4), conventional representations of the sun and moon³ (Figs. 1 and 2, above centre field), and an armorial casque-and-scrollwork⁴ (Figs. 1 and 3, above centre field). The Indian elements in the designs are no less conspicuous and commonly betray association with the iconography of the Vaishnava cult. For instance, the recurring scenes with a ship manned by Portuguese sailors, surrounded by fishes and various marine monsters (Fig. 2, outer border, and Fig. 5), are clearly derived from conventional Vaishnava representations of the Great Flood, in which Vishnu, in his Matsya or fish incarnation, is depicted guiding Manu's ark.⁵

As far as technique is concerned, the quilts are worked in chain stitch on a coarse cotton (or jute) ground, the actual quilting being in back stitch. Sometimes the chain-stitch patterns are first embroidered on separate pieces of cloth and then appliquéd upon the ground (Fig. 3). The measurements of the bedspreads average about 9 feet by 10½ feet, and they are sometimes fringed and tasselled.

Besides the bedspreads there survive a few hangings and garments embroidered in the same style, technique and material. Typical of the hangings is the example at Fig. 7, the design of which is clearly influenced by contemporary Italian brocade patterns. Similar examples are preserved in the Cooper Union Museum, New York, and in the private collection of the Museum's Keeper of Textiles, Miss Beer. The garment embroideries which have come to light in the course of my investigations amount to only two pieces (Figs. 8 and 9). But besides these, there are included in some collections fragments of similar fine-muslin embroidery which may, or may not, have once been in use as garments. The example at Fig. 10

is known to have been in service as an altar-front, but it gives the impression of having been pieced together in its present form by hands other than those which embroidered it.

Important evidence for the dating of this group of embroideries is provided by the costume details of the European figures in the designs. These are typical of what we know of the colonial fashions of the Portuguese in the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century.⁶ On this limited point of evidence, therefore, it would be supposed that all surviving examples of this group of embroideries were produced somewhere between 1570 and 1650.

The Goanese attribution usually given to them is not likely to be seriously entertained by an orientalist familiar at first hand with the literature and trade documents of the period. Even at the height of its prosperity in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, Goa was never more than an administrative headquarters and an entrepôt, where goods destined for Europe from all parts of Portuguese Asia were assembled and reloaded. In fact, every contemporary account leaves the reader with a clear impression that neither Goa nor its immediate hinterland produced any kind of commodity for bulk export. The city was notable for its bazaars which dealt in the bric-à-brac and curios of all Asia, and also for its petty artisans such as jewellers and lapidaries, who catered for the individual tastes of the Portuguese *fidalgos*. But the conception of Goa as a centre of commodity production is entirely contrary to existing evidence.

It may well have been that the Goanese attribution, when originally given to these embroideries, was intended to indicate only where they were known to have been loaded for Europe rather than where they were made. (In this way, the word "calico" was derived from the earlier entrepôt of Calicut, in spite of the fact that neither Calicut nor its immediate hinterland produced calicoes for bulk export.) Nevertheless, in matters of artistic attribution, a myth, once created, dies hard; and in this case there have been planned attempts to keep it alive. The most

noteworthy of these is an article contributed by Mr. Arthur Upham Pope to the *Survey of Persian Art*,⁷ in which the author sets out to show that the well-known group of Persian-style carpets incorporating Biblical scenes were woven at Goa. This article is of some relevance in the present context, because subsequent writers have used it as a cornerstone in their arguments to show that Goa was the provenance of other Indo-Portuguese works of art, including the quilts.

Mr. Pope, at the outset of his article, claimed that his Goanese attribution was based upon "a more careful study" of the literature. However, he produced only two references to carpet weaving from contemporary literature, both of them from the same book by Pyrard de Laval. First, he quoted Pyrard as saying that in Goa "they make carpets of the fashion of those of Persia and Ormus," when, in fact, it is unmistakably clear from the context that Pyrard is discussing carpets made at Cambay in Gujerat.⁸ Secondly, Mr. Pope attributes to Pyrard the statement that "carpet weavers were established . . . on the great street [of Goa] that ran from the Misericordia to the palace of the Viceroy." Reference to the French text, however, shows that instead of carpet weavers, Pyrard wrote carpet shops (*boutiques de Tapissiers*),⁹ a reading highly inconvenient to the theory propounded. On the strength of these two distortions, Mr. Pope is publicly congratulated by Mr. Wolfgang Born for having "conclusively demonstrated" his case, which the latter uses in support of his argument for the existence of a contemporary Goanese school of painting.¹⁰ In turn, these articles have influenced Miss Estabrook Moeller in her paper *An Indo-Portuguese Embroidery from Goa*,¹¹ which is the latest attempt to justify the Goanese label for the quilts. Miss Moeller, however, presents no new evidence of any kind in support of the attribution.

Even if commercial embroideries of some kind had been made at Goa, it would still be necessary to rule out Goa as the provenance of this particular group. Two features which have a close bearing on their provenance are,

first, that the designs show a stylistic unity and developed feeling for composition and form only conceivable in relation to an already existing local tradition of art and embroidery; and secondly, that they show traces of Vaishnava symbolism possible only in an area where this cult flourished. Both these points are inapplicable to Goa and its immediate hinterland—an area which, at the time of the Portuguese occupation, was without any strong local culture, Vaishnava or otherwise.

What, then, are the methods by which the provenance of these embroideries can be traced?

Indian embroidery, commercial or otherwise, does not usually present difficulties of classification. Traditionally, it has been mainly in the hands of the women in the villages, and its styles are, in the last analysis, regional, like the local traditions of folk art to which they are invariably related. In spite of intensive commercialization in certain areas and at different periods, its regional characteristics are distinctive; and even today, with Indian folk traditions everywhere in advanced stages of decay, it is still possible to identify at centres of pilgrimage the satin-stitch *phulkari* embroideries of the Punjab, chain-stitch work of Cutch and Kathiawar, cross-stitch work of Sind, and the *kantha* embroideries of Bengal. Each of these regional styles has its distinctive combinations of technique, colour and design; and each has its counterpart in commercial embroidery produced in the same areas for the European market.

The first aim must be to discover which parts of India were specializing in commercial embroidery for the European market in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This is ascertainable from contemporary records (mostly unpublished) of the Portuguese, Dutch and English trading companies, which contain many references to bulk trading in embroidered hangings and bedspreads. They show that prior to the middle of the seventeenth century they were mostly commissioned either in Gujerat or Bengal. The Gujerat embroideries I have

identified and discussed in another paper (*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, vol. 17, 1952). Here it is sufficient to say that they are easily distinguishable from the so-called "Goanese" group, their characteristic design being of the floral type worked in bright multi-coloured silks with reds and blues predominating. The Bengal embroideries, on the other hand, have not hitherto been identified with any surviving group, nor have the many references to them in contemporary records been collated or discussed.

Bengal was famous for its bedspreads and hangings even before Portuguese trade had been established there. As early as 1515 Tomé Pires noted that the regular annual exports from Bengal to Malacca included "very rich and beautiful bed-canopies of cut-cloth work [*de entretalho*, appliqué?—J.I.] in all colours," and "wall-hangings like tapestry."¹² Although by this time the Portuguese had begun to trade indirectly with Bengal,¹³ it was not until 1537-8 that they established their first settlements in this part of India. At least as early as the 1570s Bengal embroideries had reached Portugal, and in 1578 we find them listed among the gifts offered by the Portuguese Cardinal-King Henry to the Sultan of Morocco, in exchange for the dead body of the young King Sebastian, killed in the battle of Al Kasr in that year. The list includes four "embroidered bedspreads of Bengal," one of which is described as being "worked in silk with birds and hunting scenes (*montaria*) and foliage (*boscagem*), fringed with yellow and white threads and tasselled in the corners," and another as "embroidered with human figures (*feicoens*)."¹⁴ A few years later the Dutchman Linschoten wrote in his description of Bengal: "They have likewise [in Bengal] excellent white linen very prettily made, from a herb, which they spin like yarn; this yarn can be seen at the house of Paludanus, is yellowish, and is called the herb of Bengal (*cruyt van Bengalen*), where-with they embroider very skilfully bedspreads, pavilions, pillows, shaving-cloths (*scheer-doecken*), children's baptismal cloaks, like

those which women in confinement wear round their shoulders, and they embroider them with leaf and flower-work and all kinds of Figures one can think of or imagine, so that they are a wonder to see and so masterly made and beautifully worked that they cannot be surpassed in Europe."¹⁵

This description is closely paralleled by the account of the Frenchman Pyrard de Laval, who visited Bengal in 1607: "Likewise [in Bengal] there is plenty of silk, as well that of the silkworm as of the [silk] herb, which is of the brightest yellow colour, and brighter than silk itself; of this they make many stuffs of divers colours, and export them to all parts. The inhabitants, both men and women, are wondrously adroit in all manufactures, such as of cotton cloth and silks, and in needlework such as embroideries, which are worked so skilfully, down to the smallest stitches, that nothing prettier is to be seen anywhere."¹⁶

The earliest specific mention of Bengal quilts in the records of the English East India Company appears in the Court Minutes dated February 25, 1618. It reads: "Then was put to sale a Bengalla quilt of 3½ yards long and 3 yards broad to be paid for in ready money, embroydered all over with pictures of men and crafts in yellow silk, Mr. Henry Garway bidding £20 for it."¹⁷

In the following year, the Company's Council at Surat instructed the Agra factors to supply more quilts "stitched with birds, beasts, or work very thick, such as used by the Moors instead of carpets. Of this sort there comes, it seems, from Bengalla."¹⁸

Up to this period, the English Company had not established any trading station in Bengal itself; but in 1620 two factors were sent to Patna. Within a few months of their arrival, Hughes, the senior factor, wrote to the Council at Surat: "I shall here provide some quilts of Sutgonge¹⁹ wrought with yellow silk, at reasonable rates; and have already half a score in possession, and am promised more daily as they come to town."²⁰

Later in the same year he wrote: "Of Sutgonge quilts we send you this year a pack wherein were in bales 21 of sundry sizes,

fashions and prices amongst which were some of the length and breadth you require, and most part of them upward of 3 English yards long with breadth accordingly, and all of them bought at such reasonable rates that we expect good muzera [Pers. *masarrat*, "cause of joy"—J.I.] for them from the Company. They are not made here but brought from the bottom of Bengala and therefore cannot endeavour their making on purpose but shall the provision of only such as may give content both for their length and breadth. Other sorts of quilts are not here to be gotten of any kind and therefore you may not expect them from this place."²¹

The only other contemporary account throwing further light on Bengal embroidery is that left by the Portuguese missionary Sebastien Manrique, who visited Bengal in 1629: "Among the more important commodities dealt in by the Portuguese in Bengal are very rich back-stitched quilts (*riquissimas colchas, en las pespuntadas*), bed-hangings, pavilions, and other curious articles worked with hunting-scenes (*obra de montaria*) which are made in these kingdoms."²² Later in the same work, Manrique describes how, after being entertained by a local dignitary, he was given "... two white quilts ornamented with back-stitching in silk which those people call *dalgaris*, and the Portuguese hunting quilts (*colchas de montaria*)."

It now has to be considered how far these contemporary references to Bengal embroidery coincide with the characteristic features of the so-called "Goanese" group.

The records tell us that Bengal quilts were "worked very thick," "embroydered all over with men and crafts," with "hunting scenes," with "flowers and branches and personages" and with "birds and beasts." The characteristic colour of the embroidery was yellow. We find emphasis on the fineness of the stitching, and specific reference to the use of back-stitch.²³ The only apparent inconsistency between Bengal embroideries as described above and the actual works with which we are concerned is in the observation made by Linschoten and Pyrard that the embroiderers worked with yarn

"*spun from a herb.*" The question now arises, what was this herb?

In the same paragraph of the *Itinerario* in which this observation occurs Linschoten follows with the remarks: "Likewise they make whole pieces or webs of this herb, sometimes mixed and woven with silk, although those of the herb itself are dearer and more esteemed, and is much fairer than the silk. These webs are named Sarriijn, and it is much used and worn in India, as well for men's breeches, as doublets, and it may be washed like linen, [and being washed] it shows and continues as fair as if it were new."²⁴

Linschoten was not the first European to comment upon this "herb of Bengal." About twenty years earlier the Italian traveller Fedrici described having seen in the same part of India "a kind of silk which grows in the woods without the labour of man, and when the bole (*boccole*) is grown as round and large as an orange, then they take care to gather it. . . ."²⁵ Contemporary with Linschoten, Ralph Fitch, the first Englishman to visit Bengal, reported that local manufactures included "cloth which is made of grass, which they call *Yerva*; it is like silk. They make good cloth of it, which they send to India²⁶ and divers other places. . . ."²⁷ In 1629 Manrique included among Bengal commodities "cloths woven half of *yerua* and half of silk which are called *ginghams*."²⁸

The late Sir George Watt, whose works remain the best general guide to the economic products of India, identified Linschoten's "herb of Bengal" with the Bengal Madar plant (*Calotropis gigantea*).²⁹ The floss derived from the seeds of this plant was woven and exported from Bengal at the end of the seventeenth century, giving to the English language the word "grasscloth." In this case, however, Watt's logic is unconvincing, for it does not explain why *herba* was specifically classed as a *silk*. A detailed review of the evidence would be beyond the scope of this article; but here I want to suggest that the more one studies the contemporary records the more convinced one becomes

that others writing before Watt³⁰ were correct in concluding that this "herb-silk" was not in fact a herb product at all but the silk known as Tussur,³¹ derived from the cocoon of the wild silk-worm *Antheraea paphia*. The erroneous idea that Tussur silk was in fact spun from a herb seems to have been widely shared among Europeans in India for at least three decades after Linschoten. Thus, in 1619, we find the English factors in India writing about "*a kind of Bengala stuffe of silke grasse called tessar.*"³² Later in the century, although the real nature of Tussur was known, the word *Herba* was nevertheless still in currency as a synonym for Tussur. For instance, when Tussur was first exported to England in regular shipments in the 1680s it was never called in the records simply "Tussur" but always "Tussur or *Herba*";³³ and in 1679, when the factors reported their discovery of another species of wild silk in Bengal called Arundi or Eri, they described it as "*a kind of Herba spun by a worme that feeds upon the leaves of a stalke or tree called Arundee.*"³⁴

The reason why Tussur silk was originally thought to have been spun from a herb is not far to seek. The Tussur cocoon, in its natural habitat, suspended from the outer branches of a bush or tree, is so like an organic part of the plant that even the Dutch botanist Rumphius was deceived into thinking that it was the fruit of the plant, until in 1691 he actually dissected a cocoon and found the chrysalis inside.³⁵ If the most experienced oriental botanist of the seventeenth century made this mistake, it is not improbable that Fedrici and Linschoten's informant (for Linschoten had not himself visited Bengal) were deceived on the same grounds, as the actual wording of Fedrici's account suggests. Allowing for this, other factors confirm the supposition. For instance, two characteristics of *Herba* stressed by Linschoten and Pyrard de Laval were its brightness and yellowness.³⁶ Unlike the round fibres of ordinary silk, Tussur fibre, examined under the microscope, is flat, and according to Wardle, writing in 1901, this difference of structure results in Tussur having a "natural

brilliance" unequalled by ordinary silk.³⁷ The same writer remarks upon its especial suitability for embroidery, naively adding that this was discovered "for the first time in its history, I am happy to say, by my wife."

The conclusion that Linschoten's "herb of Bengal" must have been Tussur silk, and not a herb product at all, was reached before any samples of the silks used in the so-called "Goanese" embroideries had been analysed. The next step was to obtain from this group as wide a selection of yarn-samples as possible. With the co-operation of museums and private collectors in Europe and America, ten samples of yellow silk were taken from embroideries indisputably belonging to the group. Every one of them proved to be Tussur.³⁸

The fact that the embroideries are worked with Tussur is in itself an indication of Bengal origin, because only in this part of India is Tussur known to have been commercialized at this period. Thus, with a *prima facie* case for their Bengal origin established on technical grounds and in light of contemporary records, it remains to consider their stylistic relation to Bengal art.

It was remarked earlier that any discussion of provenance must take into account two features which have an especially close bearing on the question. First, the maturity of style, which obviously had its source in an already flourishing local tradition; and secondly, the traces of Vaishnava symbolism, which indicate an area where this cult was well established. Both features, as we shall see, are consistent with Bengal as the provenance.

Bengal, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was the centre of a great Vaishnava renaissance. This movement was as much social as religious in character, because its leader, Chaitanya, proclaimed ideals of human brotherhood and equality in open defiance of orthodox Hinduism; and just as it represented a challenge to Brahmanism in the sphere of theology and social theory, so the artistic renaissance which accom-

panied it marked a radical departure from the stereotyped forms into which the Brahmanical art of Bengal had degenerated. Henceforth, folk-idiom triumphed over hieratic canon. The building and decoration of temples in Bengal ceased to be a matter of narrow caste privilege and became a popular activity in which ordinary craftsmen of the villages—the potters, carpenters and blacksmiths—played the leading part. Stone, the material traditionally used for temple sculpture, was abandoned in favour of clay, wood, brick and other materials which were cheaper and more easily worked. All over Bengal, there appeared countless brick-built temples, their walls covered with lively terracotta plaques and wood-carvings depicting scenes from the popular epics, or stories from the Puranas.³⁹ Anyone familiar with these temples could not fail to be struck by parallels in style and subject-matter between this class of work and the designs embroidered on the quilts. There is the same spirited movement and close crowding of detail, the same swirling rhythms and bold symmetry. The mixing of religious and secular, which is such a conspicuous feature of the quilts, is also characteristic of the terracotta reliefs (Fig. 6). Included in the latter are many scenes depicting Portuguese soldiers hunting, drinking and engaged in various domestic occupations; and the late Mr. G. S. Dutt described maritime scenes with Portuguese ships as well.⁴⁰ Another feature of style common to both is the way in which the figured compositions are divided into self-contained narrative panels, often without logical sequence, yet organized within a strictly symmetrical plan. In the treatment of individual figures, proportion is often abandoned in the interests of narrative, the leading characters being enlarged to indicate their importance in the story. Perspective and depth are hardly used at all, the general effect being one of flat patterning, characteristic of Bengal folk-art as a whole.

The same basic principles of composition apply to the folk-embroideries still executed in Bengal today. Known as *kanthas*, these embroideries usually combine chain stitch

with *appliqué*.⁴¹ Unfortunately, no examples earlier than the nineteenth century now survive, and the designs of the last hundred years are to some extent debased by commercial art influences of the period. Nevertheless, apart from sharing with the quilts certain basic features of composition, there are other characteristics of *kantha* designs, such as the preference for pictorial scenes with human figures (often European), which call to mind the Indo-Portuguese work of at least two centuries earlier.

So far I have not been able to find in contemporary records any indication of the circumstances in which the Bengal quilts were made. The only hint is in the fact already quoted (p. 68), that they were known to the English factors in 1620 as "Sutgonge quilts," after Satgaon, the old mercantile capital of Bengal on the Saraswati tributary of the Hughli river, twenty-three miles north of modern Calcutta. Satgaon declined in importance during the previous century owing to the silting-up of the Saraswati, and from 1537 onwards its trade was gradually diverted to the port of Hughli, founded in that year by the Portuguese. The fact that the quilts were named after Satgaon by the English probably implies no more than that they were brought to the English factory at Patna by Satgaon merchants. However that may be, there can be little doubt that the quilts were made in the Satgaon-Hughli area, and that the prosperity of this local industry was closely dependent upon the prosperity of the Portuguese who were its main patrons. The first blow came in 1632, when the Mughal Emperor's forces captured Hughli and abolished Portuguese sovereignty there. From this set-back Portuguese trade never properly recovered, and final misfortune came in the 1660s, when the Hughli administration fell into the hands of corrupt and oppressive officials, whose misdemeanours are graphically described in Walter Clavell's *Account of the Hughli Trade* written in 1677. By this time Portuguese trade was more or less paralysed, and there can be little surprise that the quilt industry had suffered a similar fate.

APPENDIX

In this appendix I shall draw attention to three additional groups of Indo-Portuguese embroidered quilts, which, although distinct from those so far discussed and attributed to Bengal, are nevertheless related to them in style and reflect their influence.

The first is represented by the quilt at Fig. 11, the design of which is clearly based on a Bengal quilt somewhat similar to the example at Fig. 1. Not only is the general lay-out preserved, but the subject-matter of the pictorial scenes is basically the same. Such differences as appear are due to the comparative inability of the designer at Fig. 11 to handle such complicated material in a single, rhythmically unified scheme. In other words, the design at Fig. 11 lacks the cohesion which is one of the outstanding qualities of Indian textile design at this period. The animals in the hunting scenes, for instance, are not conceived in organic relation to their setting: they are conceived as silhouettes arbitrarily spaced out upon a patterned ground; and the designer makes no attempt to repeat the complex rhythms and patterning of the Bengal hunting scenes. It is significant, too, that the dragon-headed scrolls, which in the Bengal quilts (Fig. 2, for instance) retain something of their distinctively Italianate character, here appear in a form so crude and distorted that, without the intervening stage represented in the Bengal designs, they would hardly be recognizable as European in origin at all. In brief, my conclusion is that the quilt at Fig. 11 represents a type executed in Portugal in imitation of the Bengal type, perhaps at the time, towards the middle of the seventeenth century or later, when the genuine Bengal quilts were becoming scarce.⁴² This conclusion had been reached prior to an analysis of the materials used, which, significantly enough, proved to be *linen* for the ground and ordinary silk (*bombyx mori*) for the embroidery.

The second group, represented by Figs. 12 and 14, raises a more difficult problem. Quilts of this type are worked in ordinary *red*

silk in *back stitch*, the actual quilting being in yellow silk (*bombyx mori*). At first I was of the opinion that they might have been of Bengal origin, but from a different part of the province to those discussed in the main body of this article. On closer study, however, I came to the conclusion that the drawing lacks altogether the spontaneity and vitality of the Bengal tradition. Although these quilts are extremely skilled work by any standards, the visual imagination behind them is staid in comparison with anything we can attribute with certainty to seventeenth-century Bengal. I now incline to the view that they were made at some entrepôt outside Bengal—perhaps Malacca, which had always had strong cultural connections with Bengal, and where immigrant em-

broiderers from this part of India had doubtless settled. Whatever the final answer may be, there is evidence that quilts of this type were well known in Europe and that in the late seventeenth century they were copied in Portugal by Portuguese embroiderers, as shown by the example at Fig. 13, which stands in relation to Fig. 12 rather as Fig. 11 stands to Fig. 1.

The third group (Figs. 15 and 16) is another style clearly having some relation to our first group. They are worked with yellow Tussur silk in chain stitch. In view of the naïve and rather amateurish style of drawing, I have tentatively reached the conclusion that they were worked by native converts in the Portuguese convents, perhaps at Hughli.⁴³

REFERENCES

¹ In addition to those reproduced here, examples have been published by M. Stapley, *Popular Weaving and Embroidery in Spain*, New York, 1924, Plate 58 (wrongly described as Portuguese); M. Dupont, *Décoration hindoue*, Paris, 1925, Plate 48; *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 5a Exposição Temporária, Colchas Bordadas dos Séculos XVII e XVIII*, Catálogo, Lisbon, 1945, Plate 1; Marian Estabrook Mocler, "An Indo-Portuguese Embroidery from Goa," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, New York, Vol. XXXIV, 1948, pp. 117-132; Maria José de Mendonça, *Alguns tipos de colchas Indo-Portuguesas na coleção do Museu de Arte Antiga*, Museum Bulletin, Vol. II, Lisbon, 1951, Fig. 3. For generous help in supplying photographs and information for this study I am especially indebted to Senhora Maria José de Mendonça, of the above museum; Miss Alice B. Beer, of the Cooper Union Museum, New York; Dr. Agnes Geijer, of the Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm; and Miss Gertrude Townsend, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

² This motive, which is extremely common wherever Spanish and Portuguese influence penetrated overseas, probably derived from the double-headed eagle which Charles V introduced into Spain as his imperial emblem. Its frequent appearance in Chinese textile designs under Portuguese influence is discussed by G. Wingfield Digby, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. LXXVII, 1940, p. 56.

³ A feature of Manueline ornament. See, for example, its use above the South Doorway of the Jeronimos at Belem.

⁴ Especially common in Spanish and Portuguese heraldry in the sixteenth century. See *Nobiliário de Conquistadores de Índias*, published by La Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, Madrid, 1892, *passim*.

⁵ This was first pointed out in an important unpublished work by Senhora Madalena Cagigal e Silva, *Alguns motivos decorativos orientais no arte Indo-Portuguesa*, 1949, preserved in typescript in the library of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.

⁶ The best sources for a study of costumes worn by

the Portuguese in the East at this period are, first, the engravings published in the 1596 edition of Linschoten's *Itinerario*, and, secondly, the paintings on contemporary Japanese Namban screens (T. Nagami, *A Study of the Namban Screens*, Tokio, 1930).

⁷ *Survey of Persian Art*, Vol. VI, 1938, pp. 2370-2.

⁸ *Voyage de François Pyrard de Laval*, Paris, 1619, Part II, p. 262.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ "An Indo-Portuguese Painting of the Late Sixteenth Century," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, New York, Vol. XXX, 1946, pp. 165-78.

¹¹ *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, New York, Vol. XXXIV, 1948, pp. 117-32.

¹² Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, Hak. Soc., 2nd series, Vol. XC, 1944, Part 2, p. 379. See also Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, Lisbon, edn. 1858, vol. I, p. 287, for evidence of Bengal embroideries reaching Malindi (East Africa) in 1502.

¹³ In a letter dated November 30, 1513, Afonso de Albuquerque informed the King of Portugal that the Cochin factor had sent ships to Bengal. Two months later he wrote that "Bengala asks for all sorts of our merchandise." Quoted from A. Cortesão, *J. of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI, 1945, p. 13.

¹⁴ D. Antonio Cactano de Sousa, *Prozas da Historia Genealogica de Casareal Portugueza*, Lisbon, 1744, Vol. III, p. 522. I am grateful to Senhora Maria José de Mendonça for this reference.

¹⁵ J. H. van Linschoten, *Itinerario*, Amsterdam, 1596, p. 21. The English translation of 1598, republished by the Hakluyt Society in 1885, is inaccurate and misleading as far as this passage is concerned. The above very literal translation was made with the help of Dr. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, of Utrecht University.

¹⁶ *Voyage de F. Pyrard de Laval*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1619, Part I, p. 35; English translation in Hak. Soc., 1st series, Vol. 76, 1886, p. 239.

¹⁷ India Office Records, Court Book IV, folio 135.

¹⁸ British Museum, Egerton MS. 2122, folio 64;

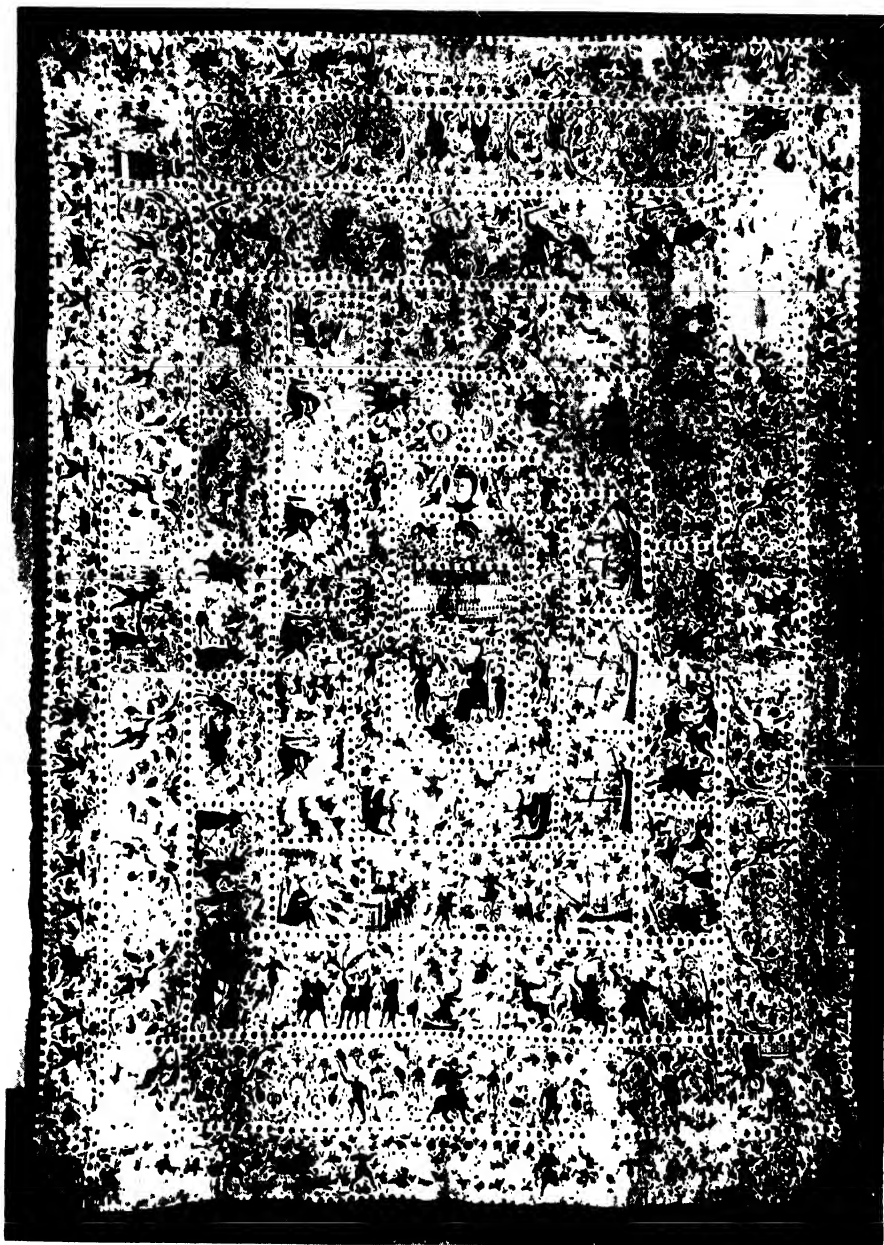


FIG. 1.—QUILT, EMBROIDERED WITH YELLOW TUSSUR SILK IN CHAIN-STITCH
Bengal, early seventeenth century. *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.*

PLATE II

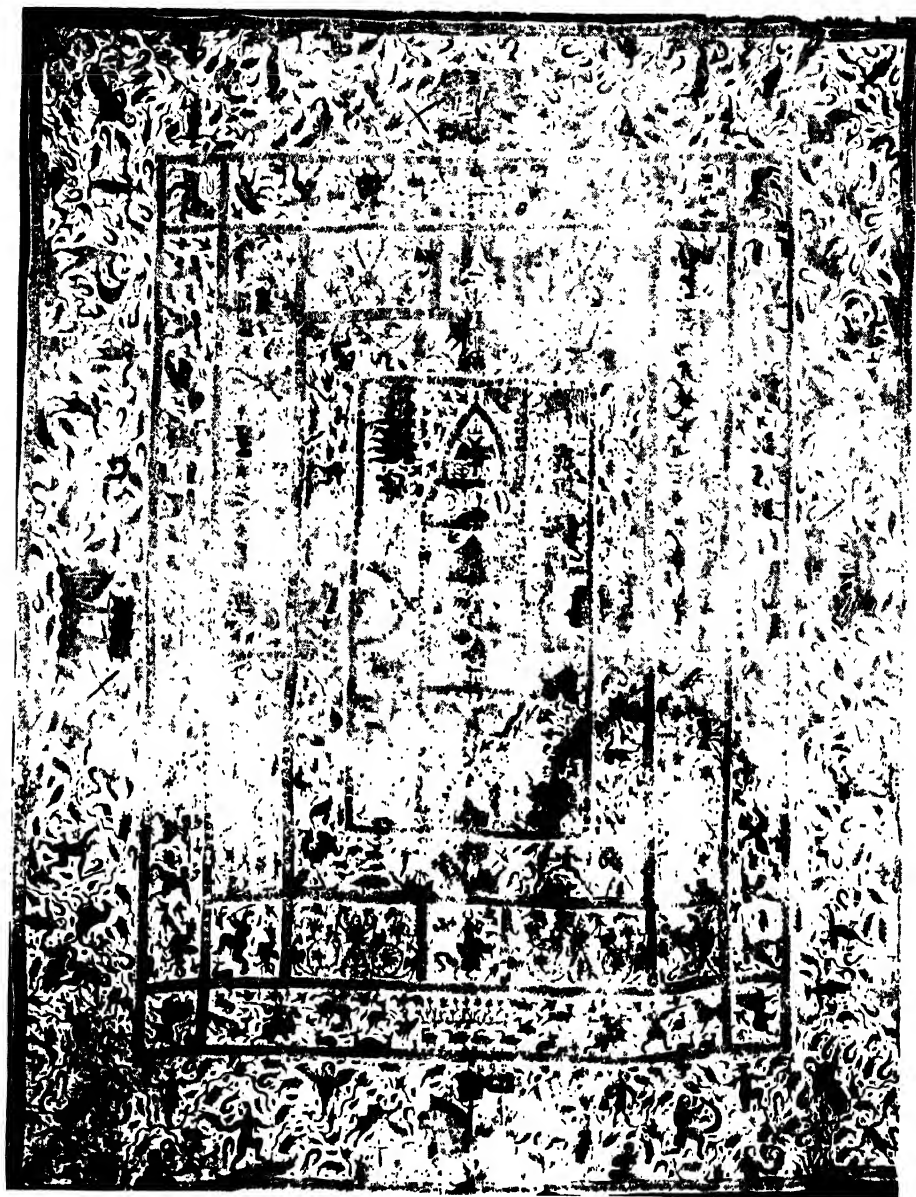


FIG. 2.— QUILT, EMBROIDERED WITH YELLOW TUSSUR SILK IN CHAIN-STITCH
Bengal, early seventeenth century. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*

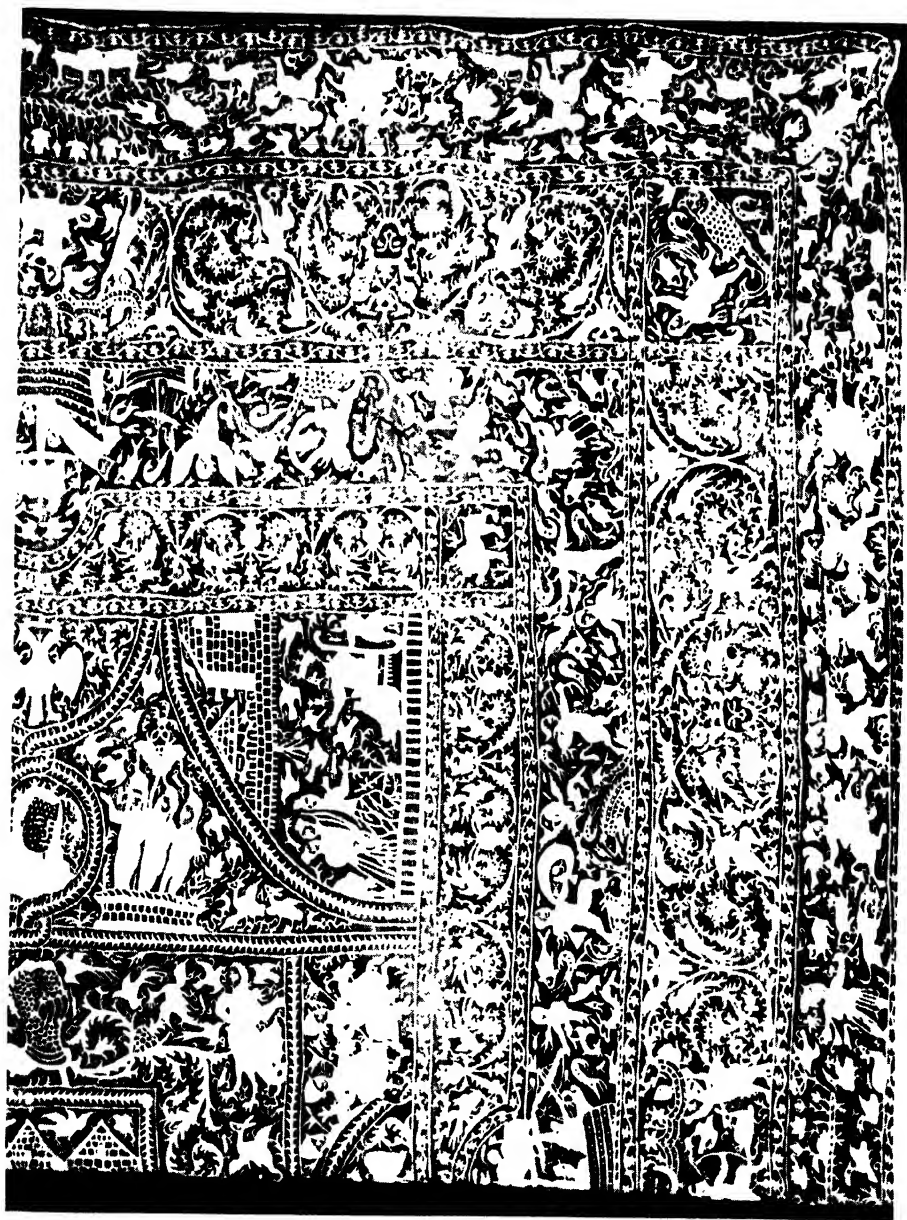


FIG. 3. DETAIL OF QUILT, EMBROIDERED WITH YELLOWISH-BROWN TUSSUR SILK IN CHAIN-STITCH

The chain-stitch patterns are *appliquéd* upon a jute ground. Bengal, early seventeenth century. $10\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 3 ft. Collection of A. L. Davison, Pennsylvania.

PLATE IV

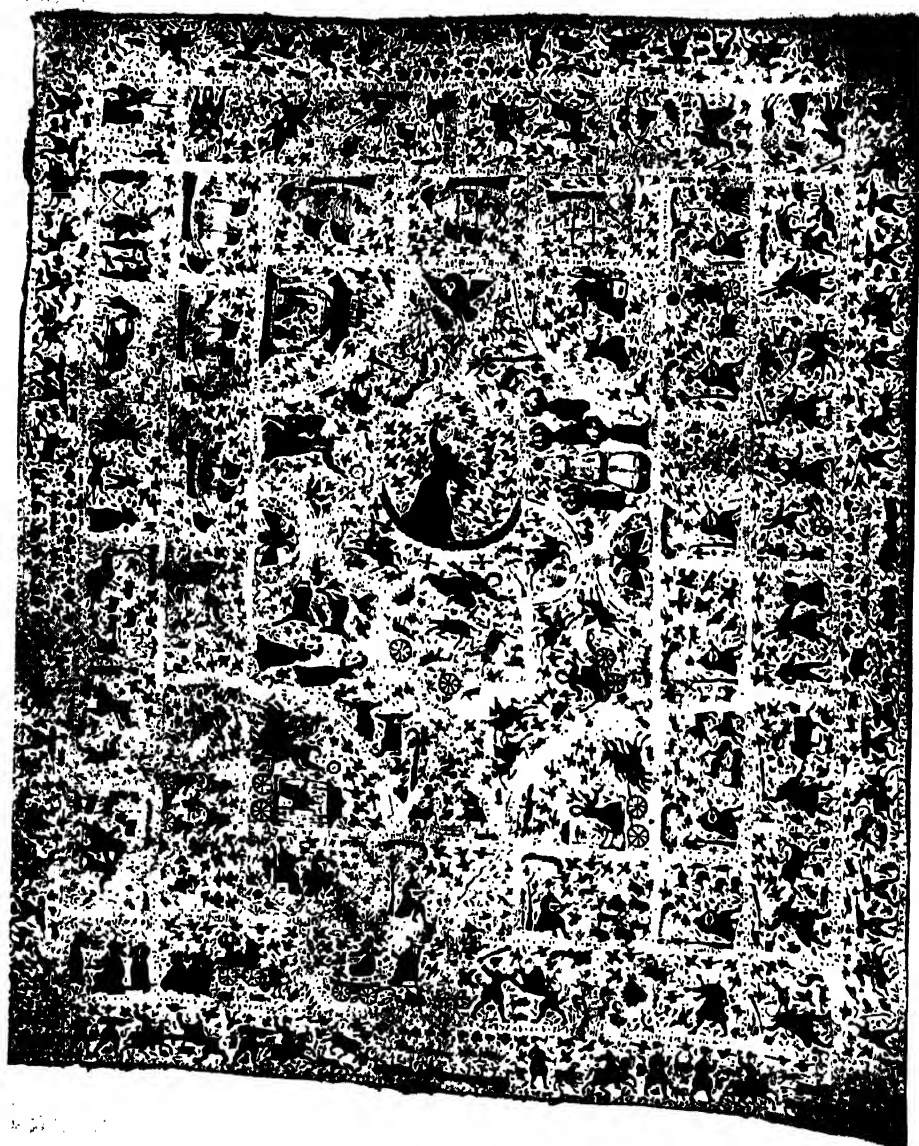


FIG. 4. QUILT, EMBROIDERED WITH YELLOW SILK IN CHAIN-STITCH
Bengal, early seventeenth century. *Collection of Princess Rochette, Rome.*



FIG. 5. DETAIL OF QUILT SHOWN AT FIG. 2

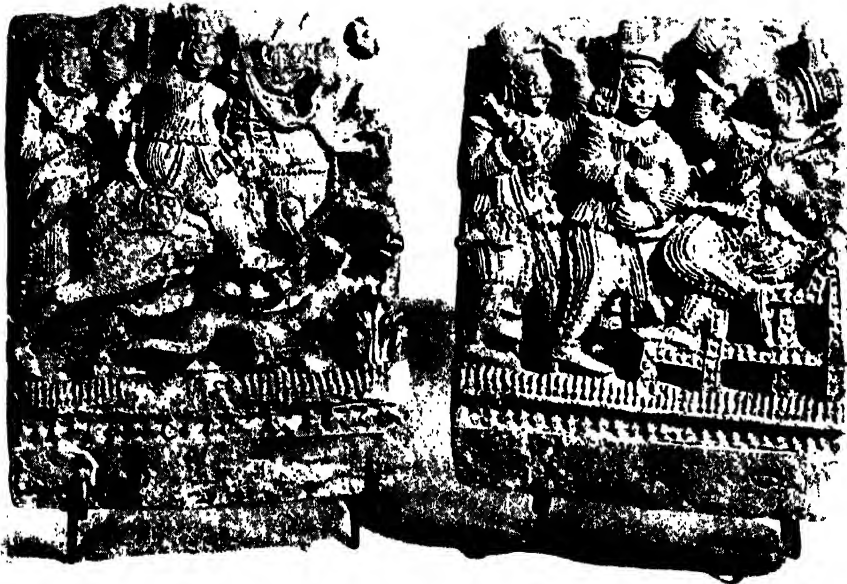


FIG. 6.—TERRACOTTA RELIEFS DEPICTING PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS HUNTING AND DRINKING

From a sixteenth century temple in Jessore Dt., East Bengal. *Asutosh Museum, Calcutta.*

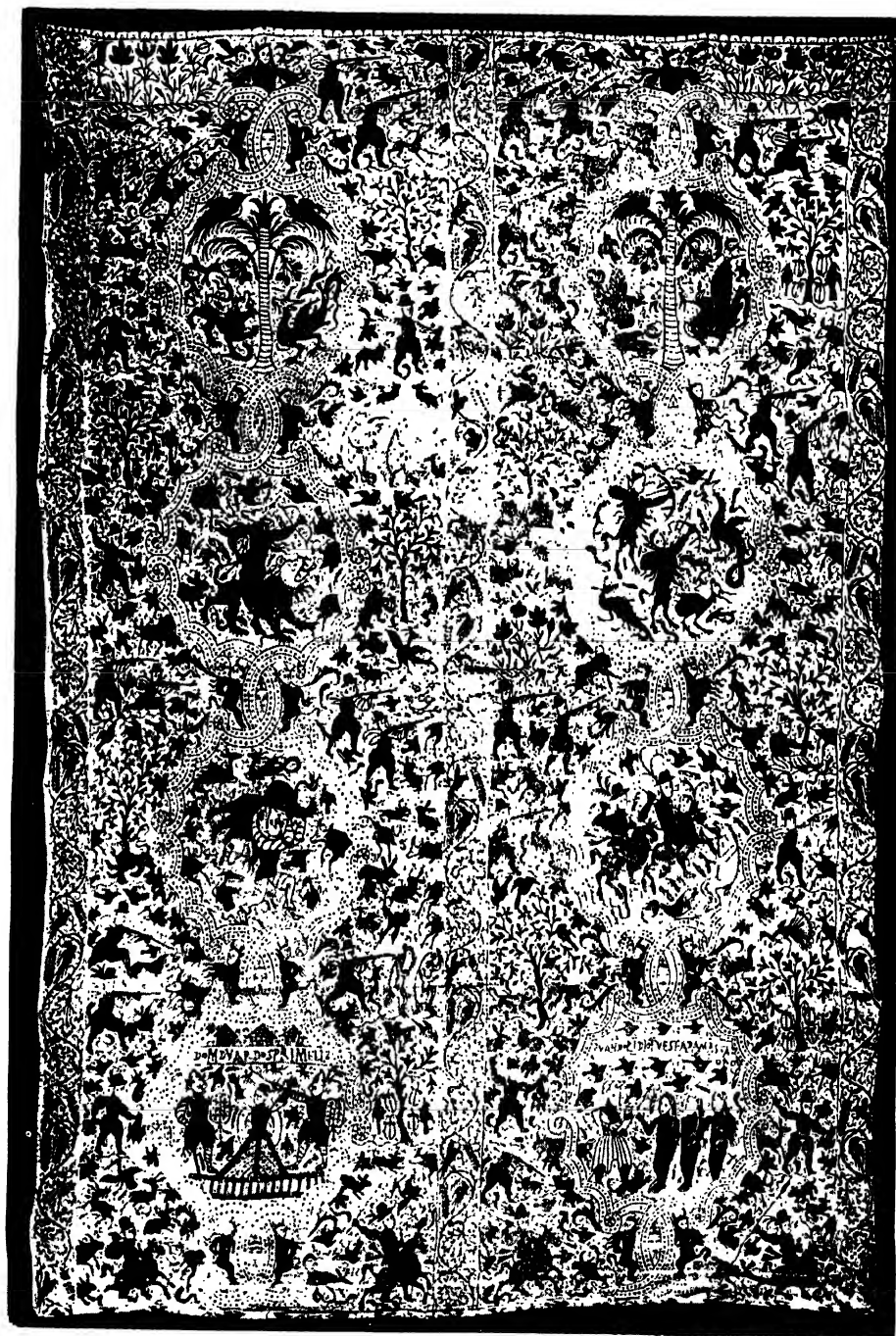


FIG. 7. HANGING, EMBROIDERED WITH YELLOW SILK IN CHAIN-STITCH
Bengal, early seventeenth century. *Present whereabouts unknown.*

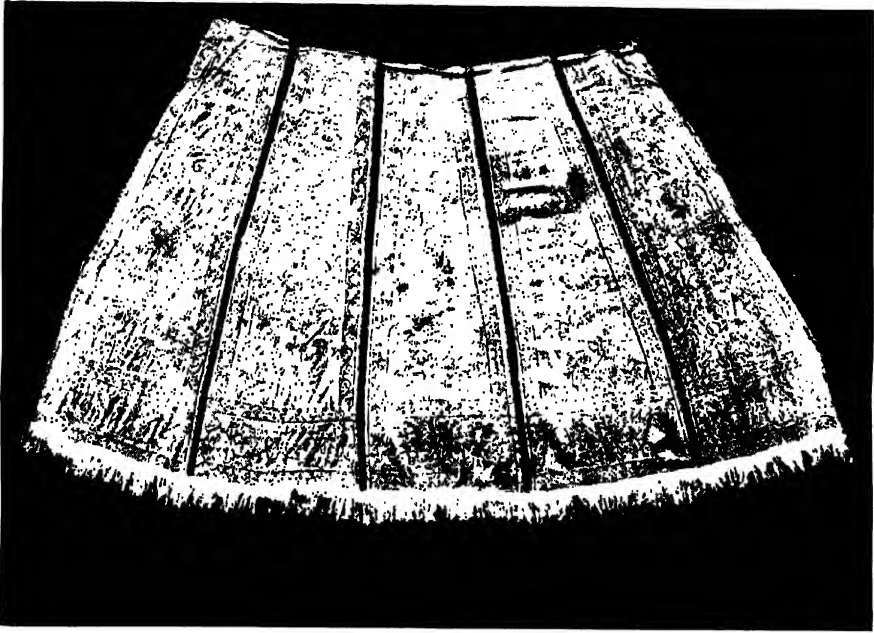


FIG. 8.—MANTLE OF MUSLIN, EMBROIDERED WITH YELLOW TUSSUR SILK IN CHAIN-STITCH
Bengal, c. 1600. L. 2 ft. 8 in. W. 2 ft. 9 in. and 5 ft. *Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. no. T. 1016-1877.*

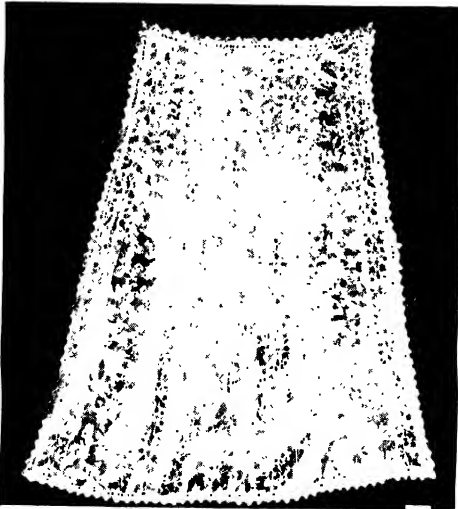


FIG. 9.—APRON(?) OF MUSLIN, EMBROIDERED
WITH YELLOW TUSSUR SILK IN CHAIN-STITCH
Bengal, seventeenth century. 48 in. by 41 in. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Inv. no. 08.103.4.*



FIG. 10.—FRAGMENT OF AN ALTAR-CLOTH,
EMBROIDERED WITH YELLOW TUSSUR SILK
Bengal, early seventeenth century. *National Museum,
Helsinki, No. 589.*

PLATE VIII



FIG. 11. -QUILT, EMBROIDERED IN CHAIN STITCH WITH YELLOW SILK (*BOMBYX MORI*)
ON LINEN

Made in Portugal on the model of a Bengal quilt. Seventeenth century. 8 ft. 9 in. by 6 ft. 6 in.
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Inv. no. 2226.

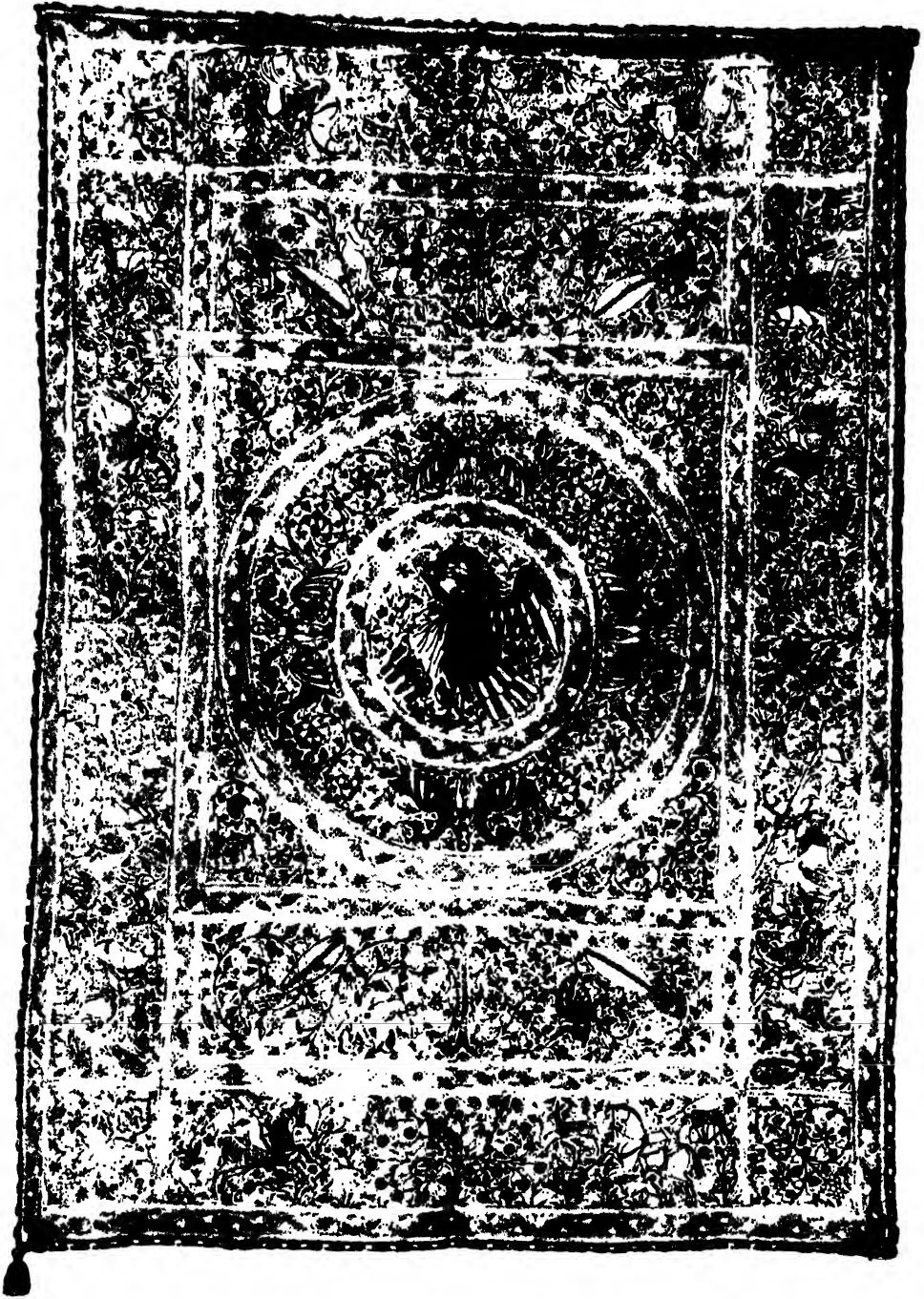


FIG. 12.—QUILT, EMBROIDERED WITH RED, WHITE AND YELLOW SILKS (*BOMBYX MORI*)
MAINLY IN BACK-STITCH

Oriental (provenance unknown), seventeenth century. 9 ft. 5 in. by 6 ft. 7 in. *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Inv. no. 112.*

PLATE X



FIG. 13.- QUILT, EMBROIDERED WITH MULTI-COLOURED SILKS (*BOMBYX MORI*) MAINLY IN CHAIN-STITCH

Made in Portugal, seventeenth century. 7 ft. 3 in. by 7 ft. *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Inv. no. 113.*

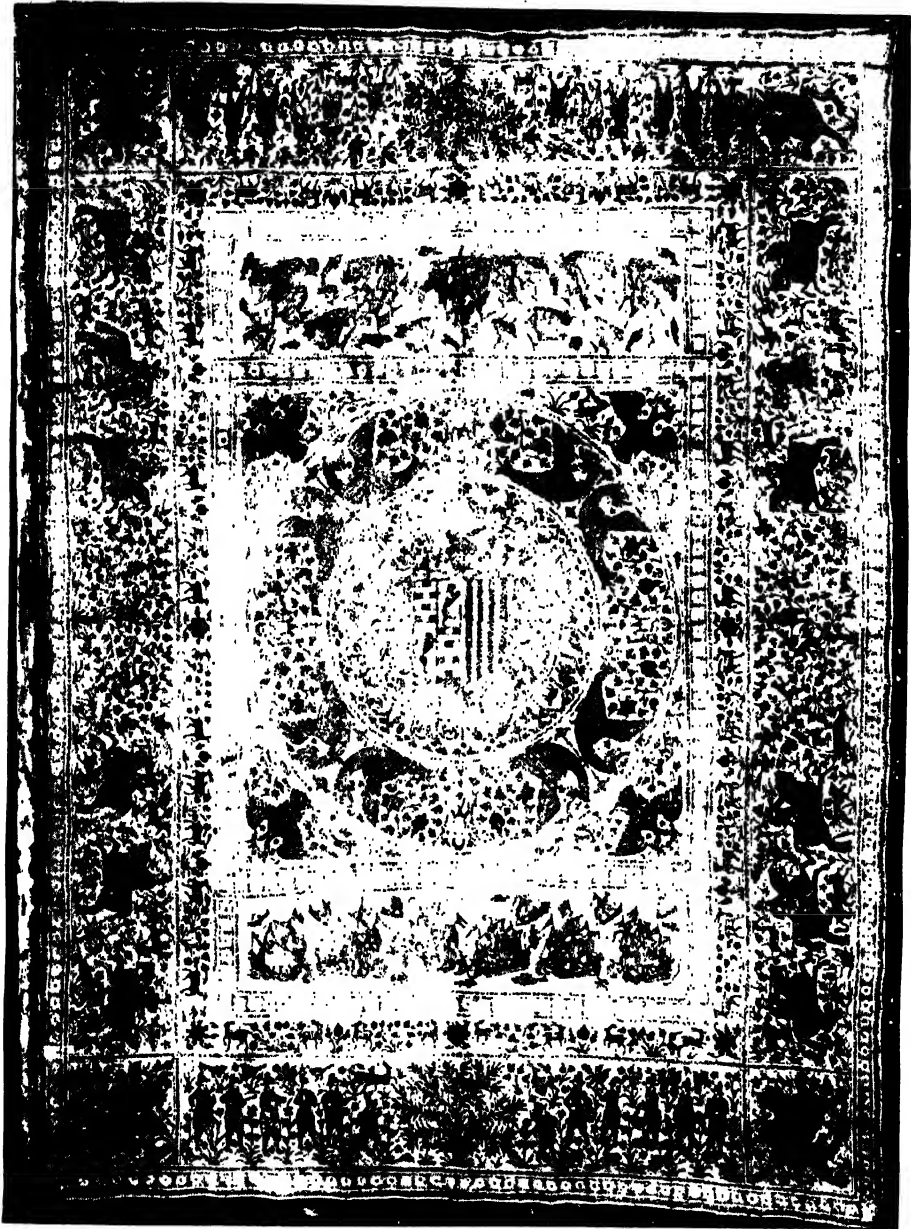


FIG. 14.—QUILT, EMBROIDERED WITH RED SILK (*BOMBYX MORI*) IN BACK-STITCH, THE
QUILTING BEING IN YELLOW SILK

Oriental (provenance unknown), seventeenth century. *Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. no. T. 438-1882.*

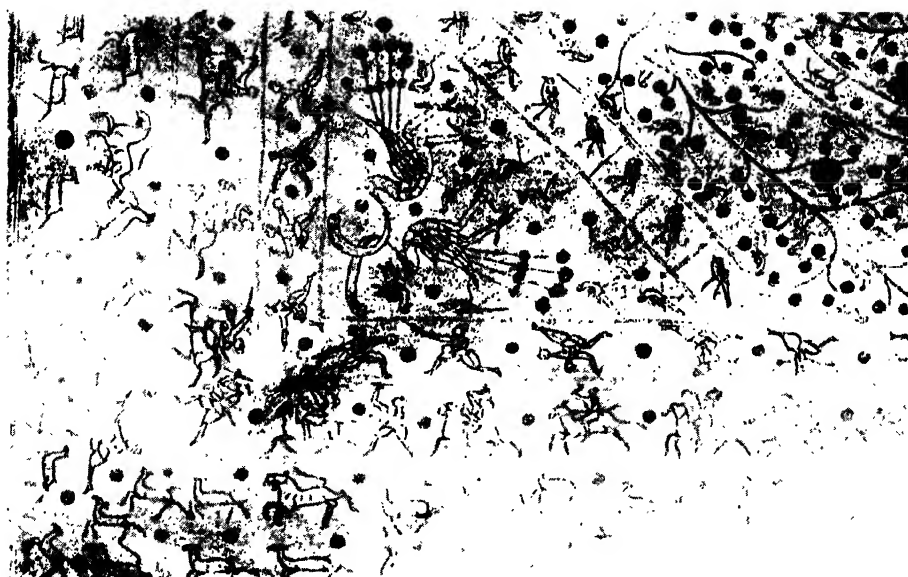


FIG. 15. DETAIL OF QUILT, EMBROIDERED WITH YELLOW SILK IN CHAIN-STITCH
Probably Bengal, seventeenth century. *Ambas Castle, Munich.*

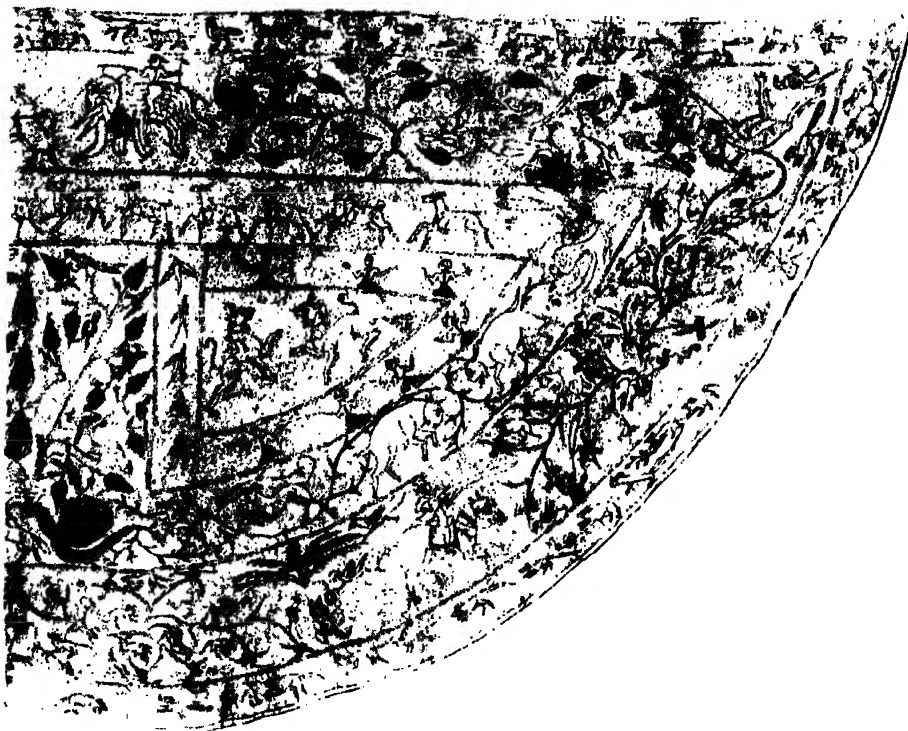


FIG. 16. --DETAIL OF COPE, EMBROIDERED WITH YELLOW TUSSUR SILK IN CHAIN-STITCH
Probably Bengal, seventeenth century. *Cooper Union Museum, New York, Inv. no. 1951-41-1*

calendared by W. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1618-21*, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1906, pp. 84-5.

¹⁹ Satgaon, the old maritime capital of Bengal now in ruins, 23 miles north of Calcutta.

²⁰ India Office Records, Patna Factory Records, Vol. I, folio 3; calendared by W. Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

²¹ *Ibid.*, folio 15.

²² *Itinerario de las Misiones que hizo el Padre F. S. Manrique*, Rome, 1649, p. 13: English trans., Hak. Soc., 2nd series, Vol. 59, pp. 34 and 430.

²³ The fact that chain stitch is not also mentioned is not surprising in view of the relative unfamiliarity of this stitch and its name to Europeans during the early seventeenth century.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

²⁵ C. de I. Fedrici, *Viaggio nell'India orientale*, Venice, 1587; English translation in *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 1927 reprint, Vol. 3, p. 236.

²⁶ To Europeans in India in the sixteenth century the term *India* usually meant only the west coast of the peninsula.

²⁷ *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 1927 reprint, Vol. 3.

²⁸ Manrique, *op. cit.*; English translation, Hak. Soc., 2nd series, Vol. 59, pp. 33 and 42. Bengal *ginghams* (as distinct from Coromandel *ginghams*, which were an entirely different cloth) are frequently described in late seventeenth-century records as being woven half of cotton and half of Tussur silk (for instance, see description in I.O. Records, Letter Book VI, folio 413). This fact is very relevant to the argument, as will be seen later.

²⁹ Sir George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, London, 1909, pp. 207-8.

³⁰ See Temple in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 29, 1900, pp. 339-40. My own case is based upon entirely fresh evidence.

³¹ From the Bengali *tasar*. Various spelt in English: Tussur, Tussah, Tesser, Tussore, etc. The best general description of this silk, which is easily distinguished from ordinary silk, is given by T. Wardle, *J. of Royal Soc. of Arts*, Vol. 49, 1901.

³² British Museum, Egerton MS. 2122, folio 112.

³³ India Office Records, Letter Book VI, folio 413. For the same usage in 1676 see Clavell's report on Bengal trade, quoted in Hedges' *Diary*, Hak. Soc., Vol. 2, 1885, p. ccxxxix and cexl; also, *Diaries of Strensham Master*, Vol. 2, p. 299.

³⁴ India Office Records, Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 803, folio 205.

³⁵ G. E. Rumphius, *Herbarium Amboinense*, Amsterdam, 1743, Vol. 3, p. 114 and Plate LXXV. In his description of Bengal Tussur silk, Rumphius wrote: "... The cocoons hang down so nicely by a spun thread from the twigs of the trees, that one would swear they were fruits of the tree. Indeed a certain Surgeon, coming from Bengal, steadfastly declared to me that they were fruits, which he had picked himself from the tree, an opinion which I shared with many others until I opened one of them and found inside the dead chrysalis." Translation made with the help of Dr. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, of Utrecht University.

³⁶ Linschoten's description of colour is contradictory. He says that the material is "... a white linen

... which ... is yellowish. ...". The insertion of "white" here is perhaps a copyist's error.

³⁷ T. Wardle, *J. of Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 49, 1901. The article includes a clear account of how to distinguish Tussur from ordinary silk under the microscope.

³⁸ The analyses were made by Miss Margaret Kerton, Research Assistant in the Textile Dept., Victoria and Albert Museum. Where doubt was felt about the identity of yarns, the samples were sent to the Director of the Silk Section, Shirley Institute, Manchester. The embroideries from which silk samples were taken are as follows:

Victoria and Albert Museum: Nos. 1016-1877, 284-1876, and 6r6 I.S. 1886.

Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon: No. 1111.

National Museum, Helsinki: one altar-cloth.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: No. 08.108.1.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: No. 46.421.

Cooper Union Museum, New York: No. 1947-50-1.

Private collection of Miss A. B. Beer, New York: one quilt.

Private collection of Mr. A. L. Davison, Pennsylvania: one quilt.

A few ground-samples were also analysed, most of them being coarse cotton, one bast-fibre (species unidentified) and one jute. The use of jute is a further indication of Bengal origin.

³⁹ Until recently, these temples have been neglected, and a proper survey is still awaited. A few photographs were published by the late G. S. Dutt in his pioneer article on the subject in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. VI, 1938, pp. 169-80. A few more have been published by Mrs. Angela Latham in *ART AND LETTERS* (*Journal of Royal India Society*, London), New Series, Vol. XXV, 1951, pp. 55 f.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

⁴¹ See especially S. Kramrisch, *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. VII, 1939, pp. 141-67; and *Marg Magazine*, Bombay, Vol. III, No. 2, 1947.

⁴² In this connection my opinion is at variance with Senhora Mendonça (*Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1951), who regards the quilt reproduced here at Fig. 11 as the *truly Indian prototype* of all the other quilts. She reaches this conclusion on the grounds that the influences of Vaishnava iconography are more obvious here (in the repeated appearance of the Matsya or half-fish incarnation of Vishnu) than in the other quilts. I cannot attach significance to this point, as the drawing of the supposed Matsya image appears to me to be quite un-Indian in any case, as indeed is the drawing of the animals, fish and birds. Moreover, Senhora Mendonça does not explain how, if this quilt is to be taken as a pure Indian prototype of the Indo-Portuguese quilts, it ever came to incorporate such completely un-Indian features as coat-of-arms panels. The fact that it is embroidered upon European linen instead of cotton also requires explanation.

⁴³ Another interesting example of this group is reproduced by J. R. Rahn, *Statistik schweizerischer Kunstdenkmäler, Kanton Unterwalden*, Zürich, 1899, p. 709, as pointed out to me by Frau Sigrid Müller, of Munich.

ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH ORIENTALISTS

FIFTH CONFERENCE, CAMBRIDGE, JULY 23-26, 1951

ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH ORIENTALISTS

The fifth Conference of the Association of British Orientalists, which was held at Pembroke College, Cambridge, was mainly devoted to a survey of the development of Oriental Studies in British Universities since the Scarborough Report and the discussion of a number of co-operative projects and enterprises.

SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

Monday, July 23

8.15 p.m. PROFESSOR A. J. ARBERRY in the Chair.

Mr. S. C. Roberts, M.A., Vice-Chancellor of the University and Master of Pembroke College, welcomed the Association in a short address.

THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ORIENTALISTS

The subject was introduced by Professor Arberry. He recalled the instructions which had been issued by the fourth Conference to the Executive Committee to enter into correspondence on this subject with other Orientalist Societies, and reported the content of the replies which had been received from them. It seemed clear that there was a general and decided feeling in favour of the proposal. Professor Gibb gave an account of some informal discussions he had had in Paris on this subject, and reported that he had received a copy of the draft Statutes of the International Union. After discussion it was agreed to accept in principle the proposal to form an International Union, and those members of the Conference who expected to attend the XXIInd International Congress to be held at Istanbul were asked to form a committee to decide a common policy for the discussions at Istanbul.

FUTURE POLICY FOR CONFERENCES OF THE ASSOCIATION

Mr. E. B. Ceadel reported that the Executive Committee wished to test the opinion of the Conference about policy for future Conferences of the Association. The first question was whether the Conference felt that the existing Constitution of the Association was sufficiently strong and definite, or whether the informality of its organization was not perhaps in danger of lessening its usefulness. Secondly, should the Conference continue to discuss questions relating to the organization and administration of Oriental Studies, or was it desirable to have learned papers read at some or all of the sessions? The third question was whether members wished the Conferences to be held as frequently as they had been held hitherto.

In the discussion it was generally agreed that the existing constitution of the Association was for the present satisfactory, subject to steps being taken to ensure the continuity of the records and correspondence of the Association. Some members spoke in favour of introducing a limited number of learned papers, but it was generally felt that in this period of rapid expansion the problems of organization were so great and the need for interchange of information between Universities so pressing that the greatest benefit would be derived from continuing the present type of subjects for discussion, at least until development had been stabilized. The rule laid down in Section 2 of the Constitution approved at Cambridge in 1947, that Conferences should be held at intervals of not more than two years, was also reaffirmed.

Professor Gibb drew attention to the fact that the Proceedings of the Sir William Jones Bicentenary Conference and of the second Conference had been published in separate pamphlets by the Royal India Society; those of the third Conference in *ART AND LETTERS*,

second issue for 1949; and those of the fourth would be published in ART AND LETTERS, second issue for 1951.

Tuesday, July 24

9.30 a.m. PROFESSOR W. SIMON in the Chair.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES AND WORK IN PROGRESS

1. *The Oriental Year*

A letter was read from Professor J. R. Firth, reporting that as a result of changes in the Editorial Board and staff a reorganization of the material for the 1948 volume had had to be undertaken.

In reply to questions, Sir Ralph Turner said that at a meeting of the Editorial Board held in the previous week the position of the work had been reviewed. In view of the delays that had occurred and of the loss of a number of cards supplied by contributors, it had been decided that the work which was now in galley proof could not be proceeded with in its present form, and that no action should be taken concerning the publication of later volumes. Professor Turner expressed his regret at this development and his hope that it might be possible to resume the project on an international scale. Members generally expressed the hope that the work already done would not be wasted, and that some means would be found for the publication of parts of it at least.

2. *The Civilizations of the Orient*

Mr. W. A. C. H. Dobson made a statement on the progress of the booklet, the production of which had been entrusted to the Executive Committee at the previous Conference. The booklet would consist of classified bibliographies with explanatory matter, and was intended to serve as a guide for the general reader, the needs of senior school and educational authorities, and school, college and public libraries. It was hoped that all contributions would be completed and the work prepared for publication shortly. The speaker, on behalf of the Executive Committee, thanked those members of the

Association who had collaborated in its preparation.

The report was welcomed by members, although some speakers suggested that proper attention could not be given in a single small booklet to the various aspects of all Oriental civilizations, and that separate booklets should be prepared on the same lines. The majority view, however, was that a programme on these lines might follow the publication of *The Civilizations of the Orient*, if this work proved to meet a wide need.

11.00 a.m. SIR GEORGE SANSON in the Chair.
SURVEY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN ORIENTAL STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITIES OF GREAT BRITAIN SINCE THE WAR

This was the first of two sessions arranged in order to give an opportunity to Oriental Departments in different Universities to report on the development which had taken place, more especially since the allocation of earmarked grants for Oriental Studies for the quinquennium 1947-52 as recommended by the Scarbrough *Commission of Enquiry on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies* (1947). It was, however, noted with satisfaction that several Universities which had not received earmarked grants had nevertheless devoted some of their general funds to the development of their Oriental Departments.

Outline summaries of the statements made by representatives concerned follow.¹

St. Andrews, although it had received no earmarked grant, had added two lecturers in Hebrew and Semitic Languages to its staff.

Cambridge had received an annual earmarked grant for Oriental Studies rising to £21,000 in 1951-52, with further sums for libraries. The teaching staff had been expanded by the addition of four lecturers in Near Eastern studies; one professor, three lecturers and two lectors in Islamic studies; four lecturers in Indo-Iranian studies; and seven lecturers and one lector in Far Eastern studies; of these, four were for branches of

¹ The full reports are published as a separate pamphlet by the Association in collaboration with the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society.

Oriental history, art and archæology. By a separate non-recurrent Treasury grant, the Institute of Oriental Studies had been opened in 1949, the former premises of the Faculty being converted into the Library of Egyptology. Great increases had been made in the Oriental collections in the University Library and the Oriental Faculty Library: the *Cambridge Oriental Series* of publications had been started, and an inter-University committee established for reviving the Far Eastern periodical *Asia Major*. Several grants had been made to send members of the teaching staff to study in Oriental countries.

Durham, out of an annual earmarked grant rising to £8,000 in 1951-52, had appointed readers in Egyptology and Turkish, and six lecturers in other Semitic and Near Eastern languages and history. The library had been built up with additional aid from Mr. and Mrs. H. N. Spalding and foreign Governments. The nucleus of a Museum of Eastern Art and Archæology had been formed by the purchase of the Alnwick collection of Egyptian and Mesopotamian antiquities with the assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Spalding and a capital grant. The new Oriental department had made a remarkable impact on all sections of the University.

Edinburgh had received an annual earmarked grant rising to £4,000 and had appointed five new lecturers, in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew and Urdu with Islamic Law.

Leeds, although it had not received an earmarked grant, had expanded its Hebrew department into a department of Semitic Languages and Literatures, with a staff of three lecturers and one lector. A good beginning had been made with collecting photostats and microfilms of rare MSS., especially in early Samaritan.

Liverpool also received no earmarked grant, but had converted its Institute of Archæology to a School of Archæology and Oriental Studies, with a professor in Egyptology, and three lecturers in Archæology and Hebrew (with Ancient Semitic languages).

visited the Cambridge University Press, where a tour had been arranged through the courtesy of the Secretary of the Press Syndicate, and the Fitzwilliam Museum.

5.00 p.m. SIR GEORGE SANSOM in the Chair.

DEVELOPMENTS IN ORIENTAL STUDIES (continued)

London. The School of Oriental and African Studies had received an annual grant rising to £142,000 in 1951-52. The plans submitted by the School to the Scarborough Commission envisaged the eventual establishment of a staff of 256, covering all main aspects of the languages and cultures of Asia and Africa. In 1946-47 the permanent staff stood at 70, and by the end of 1951-52 would number about 170. In addition to the five regional language departments, History and Phonetics, two new departments had been instituted in Law and Cultural Anthropology, and the Institute recently founded to house the collection of Chinese ceramics given to the University by Sir Percival David constituted virtually a tenth department. In addition to the expansion of the teaching staff in all departments, School studentships had been established to supplement the Treasury studentships for the training of new staff, and overseas and visiting lectureships created; library collections had been greatly enlarged, many publications subsidized, and two new series planned. In the current year the students (excluding inter-collegiate students) numbered 656, of whom 238 had been reading for University degrees and diplomas.

Manchester, which had received an earmarked grant rising to £15,000, had enlarged the teaching staff from one professor and four assistants to three professors and ten lecturers, covering Egyptology and Near Eastern Archæology, Semitic languages and Persian, and had greatly expanded library facilities in Oriental Studies.

Oxford had received an earmarked grant rising to £9,000, with an additional grant for Chinese books. Ten new lecturers had been appointed: four in Chinese, Persian

2.30 p.m. Members of the Conference

and Turkish, three in Social Studies (Islamic, Indian and African), and one each in Near Eastern Archaeology, Modern Near Eastern History, and Indian and Chinese Art. In addition, a museum of Oriental Art had been organized, faculty libraries established, and plans drawn up for a new Oriental Institute.

8.15 p.m. DR. A. F. L. BEESTON in the Chair.

ORIENTAL COLLECTIONS IN LIBRARIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

Mr. J. D. Pearson, Librarian of the School of Oriental and African Studies, read the following paper:

As one who has spent most of his working life up to the present not making speeches, giving lectures, reading papers and writing articles, but cataloguing books in libraries, I crave your indulgence in advance for the many defects and deficiencies of the present paper, and ask you to excuse a nervousness which this maiden venture instils in me.

By "Oriental collections" I do not mean only those groups of books and other material in Oriental languages brought together by individual scholars or collectors which later pass into the possession of libraries or institutions, who either commemorate their benefactor by calling the books after him or adopt the pernicious modern practice of merging the books with others on the same subject already in the Library. I would include under the term any association of books housed in one building, whether acquired in small batches at different periods or in large numbers at infrequent intervals, which may conceivably include material of interest to the Orientalist. Thus the whole library of the S.O.A.S. is an "Oriental collection" and so is the mere handful of manuscripts in Oriental languages acquired during the course of its long history by a University college.

The history of these Oriental collections is indeed a fascinating one, but this is perhaps hardly a suitable occasion (as I am hardly a suitable person) to indulge in the intellectual exercise of tracing the origins and development of these collections. Much in-

formation on the subject is of course obtainable from the prefaces to published catalogues of manuscripts and printed books, and from guides to individual libraries: when the time comes to write the history of Oriental scholarship in this country the collections of individual Orientalists still preserved in many of our libraries will be primary sources of information. The purpose, rather, of these remarks, introducing the subject of discussion this evening, is a threefold one: to give some information regarding the whereabouts and magnitudes of the manifold Oriental collections existing in libraries in Great Britain, to suggest methods of making these collections better known to scholars and librarians in order that greater use may be made of their contents, and to consider ways in which these collections may be built up and increased in number so that the supply of books available for Orientalists in this country may be considerably enhanced.

Apart from the well-known Oriental collections held by the larger libraries such as the British Museum, India Office, Bodleian, Cambridge University Library, and of course the School of Oriental and African Studies, there are many smaller collections of printed books, manuscripts and subsidiary material held by libraries of various kinds in Great Britain. In London alone there are at least 45 libraries which possess books of interest to Orientalists: the collections in these libraries vary between the quarter of a million or so printed books and many thousands of manuscripts possessed by the British Museum and the India Office Libraries respectively, and the mere handful of texts which are in the custody of the missionary societies and of institutions which exist for the performance of a variety of functions. The kind of place where one might not expect to find a collection of Oriental manuscripts is the library of the Royal College of Physicians with its 120 books in various languages, of which the manuscripts were recently described by Professor Tritton, and the Institute for the Comparative Study of History, Philosophy and the Sciences which is said to possess in

ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH ORIENTALISTS

its home at Coombe Springs, Kingston-on-Thames, a few Oriental manuscripts and printed books in Turkish, Arabic, Sanskrit and Tibetan.

Recently the London Metropolitan Borough libraries have adopted a scheme whereby each central public library in London has agreed to accept responsibility for collecting books on certain groupings of subjects, the whole system of knowledge being covered by the libraries acting together in this matter. Not only do these arrangements apply in the case of the acquisition of new material, but older books have been transferred from one library to another under this scheme, so that more extensive collections in all subjects are now in course of being built up in all the main public libraries in London. From the Orientalist's point of view, this means that he may find books on the history and geography of Asia and Africa in the library of Stoke Newington, while many of the early published grammars and dictionaries like those of the Oceanic and African groups, which so often constitute the only material available for the study of the languages, may well have found their way to Kensington.

For the rest of the country less information is available but the position appears to be very similar: the larger Oriental collections of Oxford, Cambridge, the John Rylands Library and the Northern Universities are of international repute, but less well known are the Mathews Collection in Brighton Public Library, the Malay, Persian and other Oriental MSS. recorded for Bristol Baptist College and the Japanese books said to be in the possession of Bristol University. If the varied assortments of Oriental books said to have been once at Culross in Fife, Nairn and Candi in the island of Guernsey, are still to be found in those unsuspected centres of Oriental learning, it would be of interest to receive a report on the contents of these collections.

Here, if I may, I should like to make a plea for the more rapid discharge of the necessary processes which must be carried

out before books in libraries are ready for use by scholars.

The librarian's motto should be: First catch your books, then make them available to your readers. "That is the whole law, the rest is but commentary." (Professor Edwards tells me that there are two types of librarians, mother-librarians and father-librarians. The former anxiously keep their books under their wings and dread letting them out of their sight, whereas the latter believe in sending them out to earn their keep as soon as they can walk out of the nest.) The books in our Oriental collections should be made available to readers almost immediately after their arrival in the library, and it is high time to scotch the idea prevalent in some libraries that a quarantine period should elapse before the books meet their readers. It is of course sometimes necessary that books should be catalogued before being made available, if only in order to be able to find the books wanted from a large collection, but it should be realized that sometimes an incomplete, inaccurate and unscholarly list is better than none at all, and we should not be afraid sometimes of admitting that our catalogue is not intended to be a monument of careful scholarship, but merely a rough-and-ready tool (the most useful tools are often those improvised in a hurry) enabling books to be found. The S.O.A.S. Library, thanks to the industry and bibliographical knowledge of Professor Simon and Mr. Daniels, acquired an enormous bulk of books in Chinese and Japanese which it was estimated it would take ten years to catalogue at the rate of progress then current. A short-title list, which leaves much to be desired bibliographically, was compiled in six months and the books are now accessible to anyone who knows what he is looking for. The best is so often the enemy of the good. In my native University, as distinct from my adopted one, I regret to say that the Taylor-Schechter Collection of Hebrew fragments from a Genizah in Old Cairo, acquired over fifty years ago, is still without an adequate catalogue or hand-list, and similar examples

might easily be adduced from other institutions.

Many of these collections are of course already known to specialists and information is no doubt available about them in published works to anyone who has the time and inclination to search for it. But is it not time that these deposits of little-used books were brought to the notice of scholars, and their contents surveyed and recorded? The Association of British Orientalists might well like to consider undertaking the compilation of a full list of all the many and varied resources available for British Oriental Studies. Such a catalogue might be a complete list of all the places where Oriental books are to be found—giving the widest possible interpretation to the term “book”—and might give as much information as is possible about the contents of all these Oriental collections. It should of course contain particulars of manuscripts, printed books and all subsidiary material such as photographs, films, gramophone records, illustrations, maps and all other strange materials used for the recording of men’s thoughts that libraries are beginning so assiduously to collect. Where possible some indication of the size of the collections should be given: the available catalogues and hand-lists, printed and unprinted, should be noted. More important, perhaps, particulars should be supplied about the uncatalogued collections. All libraries possess odds and ends which have accumulated during the course of their existence: in my own library, for instance, there are large collections of offprints, notebooks and miscellanea bequeathed by departed scholars, a collection of documents of various kinds which comprises the literary *Nachlass* of that great linguist, Sidney H. Ray, and invaluable for the study of the Austronesian languages, many letters, formerly in the possession of a late Governor of Bengal, which are an important source for the study of early nineteenth-century Indian history, and manuscripts of works by former scholars that were never published and are perhaps never likely to be published. Such material as this is very seldom catalogued or calendared: it is always

very insusceptible of bibliographical treatment. Vast resources of material of this kind, important for linguistic, historical and other humanistic studies, are to be found in many unlikely places all over the country.

Our list might well include also private collections when the owners of these collections are prepared to make their possession available to scholars.

Some libraries have already prepared guides to their collections. The Librarian of the India Office Library, Mr. Sutton, tells me that a guide to his Library will be published by H.M.S.O. in a month or two. A list of the catalogues of Oriental printed books and manuscripts in the British Museum is promised for September, and I understand the preparation of a similar document describing the collections of the Bodleian Library has reached an advanced stage. The survey that I have in mind might well provide, in addition to a summary of the information contained in these publications, notes on all other Oriental collections in the country, the whole being indexed by language and subject. Additions to the information contained in it might well be published in the *Bulletin of Near Eastern and Indian Studies*, of which members attending this Conference will hear more tomorrow, and in a suitable journal representing Far Eastern Studies.

I should now like to make a few remarks on the best ways of adding to the numbers of books in these collections.

No one will quarrel, I think, with the statement that the existing resources in libraries at the disposal of Oriental scholarship are sadly inadequate, and that the paramount need is not only for large additions to be made to existing collections, but also for the establishment of collections of books on new subjects to keep pace with the expansion in Oriental studies which is still going on and which it is hoped will be continued during the next few years.

We have heard today that some of the younger universities, where the Oriental collections established in the past were less comprehensive than those in the older univer-

sities, have been devoting a great deal of time and energy to the building up of collections to satisfy the needs of the new teaching departments. By now they have been able to acquire some at any rate of the older books on the subjects with which they are concerned and may expect in the future to be able to concentrate more on keeping up-to-date with the supply of current publications and to be in a position to devote more of their financial resources to the purchase of new books representing fresh advances in knowledge.

But even those Universities with long-established Oriental departments, which are able to fall back on splendid collections of Oriental books massed in the past and are consequently free of the necessity to spend a large part of their meagre finances on older books, find it difficult, if not impossible, to keep abreast of the enormous mass of important new works being currently published. From my own experience at Cambridge I know how inadequate were the amounts annually made available to that Library for the buying of books on Oriental subjects, and that even with the advantage of entitlement to free copies of works published in this country which the University Library enjoys, it has not been found possible to do more than skim the surface of the sea of modern publications in Oriental subjects.

As the Librarian of the School of Oriental and African Studies, I am now in the fortunate position of enjoying a book grant made in its entirety to be spent on the purchase of books on Oriental subjects and which does not have to consider the claims of competing subjects of study. This grant, which for the next session will provide £6,000 for the purchase of books and for binding, would be considered handsome by most librarians by present standards, but it is simply not sufficient to enable the Library to obtain all the important new publications required by members of the Library, and the same is true, I imagine, of most other libraries. I have never heard of a librarian yet who was completely satisfied with his book-grant !

It is not, I think, possible nowadays for any one library adequately to cover the whole field of Oriental studies. To provide an adequate coverage of the general works of reference, periodicals devoted wholly and in part to Oriental disciplines, publications of University faculties and departments, of learned societies and of individual professional Orientalists, which are issued in Europe and America alone would involve an annual expenditure of a sum of money much larger than that at the disposal of any library. For the acquisition of books issued in Oriental countries, where the number of works being published annually is steadily increasing, as is also the quality of the scholarship put into these works, and for the purchase of even the most thinly representative selection of modern literary works published in all countries from Africa to Japan, a further annual sum of at least £5,000 might easily be spent. As no librarian is ever likely to have at his disposal funds of this magnitude for the purchase of modern publications, the natural conclusion to be drawn is that the field must be divided out between all libraries with Oriental interests. Co-operation between libraries has been frequently tried out in the past, not always with unqualified success, and is invariably extremely difficult to organize, but the more of it that it is possible to bring about, the more unnecessary duplication of book purchase will be avoided and the larger will be the number of books available in the libraries as a whole. There must, of course, not be the slightest hint of anything that might savour of dictation to the library on its book purchases, nor any suspicion of over-all planning or of anything that might put shackles on the free development of scholastic institutions in every direction. Arrangements must be reached voluntarily between pairs and groups of libraries. Some examples of the kind of arrangement that can be profitably made will be given. The Librarian of the India Office Library has recently bought a thousand books in Malayalam published mainly since 1938. This makes the India Office Library the proud possessor

of the largest collection of Malayalam literature in the world. It would seem most unnecessary, therefore, for any other library to spend extensively on purchases of books in that language. Much expense might be saved if libraries which acquire large collections of this kind were to inform similar institutions of these accessions. Some arrangements have already been made by the S.O.A.S. with other libraries. The British Museum Oriental Department is providing lists of books, selected from the Egyptian Ministry of Education's yearbook *Al-sijill al-thaqāfi*, which it intends to purchase. Many of these books will naturally also be bought by the School of Oriental and African Studies and other libraries, but the British Museum is not able to buy all the volumes that it would like to, and neither is the School, so that by means of this exchange of information some duplication of purchases will be avoided and more of Egypt's output of Arabic books will be available in London.

The Library of the S.O.A.S. hopes to issue, at monthly intervals beginning with the present month, a list of books added to the library's catalogue. This list will be distributed to other Oriental libraries and it may possibly be the means of enabling other librarians to avoid some duplication of book purchases.

Further arrangements have been made with two law libraries in London for the division of purchases of books dealing with Oriental laws, the agreement naturally ensuring that there shall be interavailability of books between the three libraries participating in the agreement. In these days when, mainly as a result of the efforts of the National Central Library, there are available excellent arrangements for the inter-library lending of books, the division of books between many libraries does not entail the hardship to scholars that it may have done in the past.

From such arrangements in co-operation and by means of consultation between keepers of Oriental collections in this country much good may come. From time to time nowadays librarians, some of whom are addicted to pastimes which the average man

considers rather curious, issue what they call union catalogues of periodicals dealing with particular subjects, publishing neat little lists which provide information about the total number of volumes and parts of periodicals which may be found in a large number of libraries. Something of this kind might well be done for our own subject. It would not be an enormously expensive undertaking and it would be a great help to know, for instance, that the volume missing from your own library's set of *al-Mashriq*, which is of course precisely that one which you are urgently wanting, is available in Manchester. In view of the small number, compared with other subjects of study and research, of periodicals published in our subject, the list might also contain lists of serial publications of the type of the *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* and *Bibliotheca Indica*. The lists of Chinese serial publications or *Ts'ung shu* possessed by several British libraries, which I believe Professor Haloun is arranging to compile, is another example of this kind of work. In fact, one might envisage the extension of this scheme to include the gradual undertaking of union catalogues of the holdings of Oriental libraries in a variety of languages and subjects. Something might also be done along the lines of the excellent introductory bibliography of Sauvaget on Islamic history, in which it is shown in which of a number of French libraries the books described are to be found. Existing bibliographies could be marked with symbols showing which libraries possess the books, and after all, the next best thing to finding the book in your own library catalogue is to be told, "We're sorry we haven't the book here, but we can tell you where you can find it."

As a librarian I have always felt something like a shopkeeper. My customers are always right. Opportunities for the shopkeeper to address his customers collectively occur but rarely, and I have been grateful for this chance to put before you some ideas which I think would, if adopted, lead to the improvement of library facilities in Oriental studies generally. The gist of this incoherent

and rambling discourse is that a suggestion is made that a survey should be made of the existing Oriental collections and that by co-operation between librarians in charge of these collections it may be possible not only to avoid a certain amount of duplication and to buy more books, but also carry out the production of several bibliographical tools which may be of assistance to scholars. I have always—and I feel that here I might fairly speak for my fellow-librarians also—been ready and anxious to hear the opinions of scholars on the services provided by my own and other libraries, and it is my earnest hope that much useful information will be gained from your suggestions for the maintenance of the existing collections and the building-up of new ones.

Mr. Pearson's paper aroused great interest among those present, who supported the schemes outlined by him for loan arrangements and the co-ordination of book purchase between libraries. It was agreed that Mr. Pearson should be invited to prepare a survey of library facilities for Oriental studies in Great Britain, and the Chairman expressed the warm thanks of the meeting to him for his interesting and useful paper.

Wednesday, July 25

9.30 a.m. PROFESSOR T. FISH in the Chair.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES AND WORK IN PROGRESS

1. *Bulletin of Near Eastern and Indian Studies*

Professor Gibb recalled the Resolution of the fourth Conference setting up a Committee to prepare an annual bulletin of work in progress in Near Eastern and Indian studies in British Universities, with powers to negotiate for its publication either in the United Kingdom or in association with the American Council of Learned Societies.

It had been decided to include the following items: Books in the press or notified as ready for publication or in an advanced state of preparation; theses presented for Higher Degrees or in their last year of preparation; MSS. acquisitions by University

libraries. Circulars had been sent out to the University departments concerned and there had been a good response. It had proved impossible to arrange a joint bulletin with the A.C.L.S. for the current year, but it was hoped that this could be done in future years.

Professor Gibb then produced and distributed to members copies of the *Bulletin* for 1951.

Members of the Conference generally congratulated the Committee for their rapid and efficient completion of a useful work. Professor Haloun enquired whether the *Bulletin* could be enlarged to include Far Eastern studies, since the *Far Eastern Quarterly* was not an adequate channel for reporting work in progress in this country, and Professor Hall asked for the inclusion of South-east Asian studies also. It was suggested that copies should be circulated to the leading libraries in India and the Near East, and that, if and when possible, work in progress in English outside this country should be incorporated.

2. *Attendance at Overseas Conferences*

Professor Arberry reported that the Executive Committee had, as instructed by the previous Conference, approached the British Academy to use its good offices to secure remission of Income Tax on expenses of *bona fide* scholars attending Conferences outside the United Kingdom. The following reply had been received from Somerset House:

"The expenses which can be claimed by individuals for exemption from Income Tax are those which are provided by the Income Tax Acts. In amplification, it may be added that no expenses can be exempted from Income Tax in the circumstances mentioned in the Resolution unless it can be shown that in attending these conferences an employee is performing one of the necessary duties of his employment; or, in the case of a man who is not employed, that the expenses are incurred in earning the profits on which he is taxed. If the employee is able to show that his attendance at these conferences is directly connected with researches which he is re-

quired to carry out as part of his duties, the claim would in general be regarded as falling within a class of expenses which may be claimed as deductions. Individual cases, however, must be considered on their own merits, and if an Inspector's decision is not accepted it is open to the individual to require his case to be heard on appeal.

On the other hand, expenses contributed by a body which does not *employ* the individual concerned, may be claimed by the individual as exempt from income tax."

3. *UNESCO Translation Programme*

Professor Arberry reported on the discussions which had taken place with the UNESCO authorities with regard to the preparation and publication of translations from Oriental literatures. Lists of works in Arabic, Persian and Turkish had been prepared and forwarded, following the instructions of the previous Conference; but many difficulties had arisen over their publication. The Lebanese Committee were opposed to translations which were anthologies or selections, although many scholars, particularly in France, believed this to be the best way of presenting Arabic authors in translation. The Lebanese had also suggested that works translated should be submitted to Lebanon for revision in the proof stage, and that the European translator should always work in co-operation with a native speaker of the language from which the translation was made. British publishers who had been tentatively approached were not hopeful of working a scheme such as was envisaged, even though UNESCO were believed to have funds which would permit the publication of about 1,000 pages a year into English, and were understood to be willing to provide publishers with a guarantee to buy a minimum of 500 copies of any translation published.

Although much regret was expressed at the difficulties which had arisen in regard to the Translations projects, it was hoped that the Executive Committee would continue to do everything possible to foster any practicable schemes.

11.00 a.m. PROFESSOR H. A. R. GIBB in the Chair.

THE UNESCO PROJECT FOR A SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF MANKIND

Professor Ralph Turner, of Yale University, reported on the preparations being made by an International Commission, in co-operation with UNESCO, for the publication of a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind. Its purpose would be to draw into a coherent statement the present knowledge of the development of peoples, of their ways of life, and of their ideas, in order that the common factors affecting this development and the mutual services of peoples one to another might be clearly understood. Its central theme would be the growth of humanity as a whole through intercourse among particular peoples, each of whose unique achievements were contributions to the life and understanding of all humanity, and the study of which was the foundation of the history of the growth of a world community. Such a history could be written only from a world standpoint, avoiding sectional viewpoints. Special attention would be given to the economic, emotional and intellectual conditions of the basic populations of the world's regions, especially as they affected the relationships of peoples, the development of social structures, the aims of political activities, and the movements of populations.

The work was planned in six volumes, each under its own editor, supported by a group of specialists. To assist in the preparation of material, a regular series of *Cahiers* or Journals would be published during the four or five years within which the preparation of the history was in progress. These were to serve as an experimental forum for articles and comments on the materials and methods employed in the History.

In reply to questions, the speaker clarified the proposals for the chronological divisions between the six volumes, and defended the project against the criticism that there was a danger of the work of individual con-

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tributors being rewritten by the editors. Members gave a general welcome to the scope and plan of the History.

2.30 p.m. Members of the Conference visited Cambridge University Library, where they were shown round the Library and the Oriental collections through the courtesy of the Librarian.

5.00 p.m. *Section Meetings*

In the Near Eastern section, a number of topics were discussed, including the organization of the new edition of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* and the UNESCO and other translations programmes.

In the Indian, Far Eastern and South-east Asian section, consideration was given to a suggestion from the Rockefeller Foundation, transmitted by Mr. Peter Swann, that a list should be drawn up of the materials for the study of Far Eastern Art of which reproductions were most needed in British Universities, and a central agency set up in Great Britain to make accessible slides or photographs of these art objects to all interested British institutions. A report was made on the progress of the index of articles in periodicals on East Asia, 1920-50, under preparation by Mr. Pearson and others. It was agreed to ask the Executive Committee to draft appropriate Resolutions on these subjects.

8.15 p.m. DR. W. MONTGOMERY WATT in the Chair.

THE PUBLICATION OF ORIENTAL BOOKS— FACILITIES AND DIFFICULTIES

Professor Haloun, opening the discussion on this subject, pointed out that the facilities for publication had not kept pace with the increasing number of books and articles on Oriental subjects awaiting publication. Publishers in this country, and especially the University Presses, should be congratulated on the risks they had taken in accepting a number of books without subsidy, but the difficulties with which publishers were faced made the outlook rather black. After re-

viewing the assistance given by the Publications Fund of the School of Oriental Studies and its *Bulletin*, the establishment of a *Cambridge Oriental Series*, and the re-issue of *Asia Major* with the help of a Treasury grant, and expressing the hope that the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* might be enlarged, he invited members to investigate the possibilities of forms of production other than normal composition in print. In this connection he called attention to the method of producing books by photolithography from a typewritten text, known as "near-print." The costs of this method were on the average about one-third of the costs of ordinary print, and it might be widely adopted for Oriental work in the future.

A number of books produced in "near-print" were examined by members, and Professor Haloun, after answering further questions on this method, was cordially thanked for his address.

Thursday, July 26

9.30 a.m. *General Business Meeting.* Chairman: PROFESSOR ARBERRY.

The following resolutions were put to the meeting and adopted as Resolutions of the Conference:

I. XXIIND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

(a) That this Association accepts in principle the proposal to form an International Union of Orientalists as a member organization of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies.

(b) That the Executive Committee be instructed to discuss with the Royal Asiatic Society and the Société Asiatique the details of the draft Statute of the proposed International Union, with a view to reaching a clearer definition of the elements to be included in the Union, the organization of national groups, the financial obligations involved in membership and the relation of the Union to the International Congress of Orientalists.

(c) That Sir Ralph Turner be authorized

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to represent the views of this Association in any discussions which may take place on this subject at the International Congress of Orientalists at Istanbul.

2. "THE ORIENTAL YEAR"

That the Association takes note of the report presented on behalf of the School of Oriental and African Studies concerning the postponement of publication of the proposed "Oriental Year," and expresses its continuing interest in this project.

3. "THE CIVILIZATIONS OF THE ORIENT"

That the Association expresses its gratification at the progress made with the preparation of the "Civilizations of the Orient" and its thanks to those who have contributed to it.

4. SURVEY OF ORIENTAL COLLECTIONS IN LIBRARIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

(a) That Mr. Pearson and Mr. Sutton be invited to prepare a survey of library facilities for Oriental Studies in the United Kingdom.

(b) That the Association commends the development of schemes for the exchange by loan of books on Oriental subjects between libraries and the co-ordination, where possible, of book purchase policies in the libraries concerned.

5. BULLETIN OF WORK IN PROGRESS

(a) That the Association expresses its admiration and thanks to the Committee which prepared and published the *Bulletin of Near Eastern and Indian Studies* for 1951.

(b) That the Bulletin be expanded into a Bulletin of Oriental Studies by the inclusion of Far Eastern and South-east Asian Studies.

(c) That the following members be elected to serve on the Editorial Committee:

Professor Brough, London
Dr. Gershevitch, Cambridge
Professor Gibb, Oxford
Professor Hall, London
Mr. Hill, Durham
Mr. Pearson, London
Professor Simon, London

(d) That the Committee be authorized to communicate with the American Council of Learned Societies and other institutions with a view to making the *Bulletin* a more complete record of Oriental Studies in preparation in the English language.

6. UNESCO TRANSLATION PROGRAMME

(a) That the Translations Committee of the Association be reconstituted, in the first instance to cover the field of Near Eastern Studies, with powers to co-opt as opportunities may arise.

(b) That the Translations Committee be constituted as follows:

Professor Arberry, Cambridge
Professor Gibb, Oxford
Professor Guillaume, London
Dr. Lambton, London
Professor Robson, Manchester
Professor Thacker, Durham
Dr. Watt, Edinburgh

(c) That the Committee be authorized to continue negotiations with UNESCO and the American Council of Learned Societies for the preparation and publication of translations from Oriental literatures.

7. SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF MANKIND

That the Association cordially endorses the project to prepare a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind.

8. PROPOSED SCHEME FOR RECIPROCAL SUPPLY OF REPRODUCTIONS OF OBJECTS OF ORIENTAL ART

That the Association welcomes with gratitude the invitation of the Rockefeller Institute to explore the possibility of a scheme for the reciprocal supply of reproductions of objects of Oriental art, and authorizes the Executive Committee to enter into correspondence with the Rockefeller Institute to that end.

9. INDEX OF ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS ON EAST ASIA

That the Association learns with interest

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the progress made in the compilation of an index of articles in periodicals on East Asia, and expresses its hope that the work may be completed and published.

10. APPOINTMENT OF HONORARY ARCHIVIST

That, in order to ensure the safe keeping of the records of the Association, the Executive Committee be empowered to appoint an Honorary Archivist.

Mr. Dobson presented a report on the financial position.

It was agreed to recommend to the Executive Committee that the next Conference should be held in Edinburgh. The meeting expressed the hope that the invitations to hold the Conference in St. Andrews and Durham could be accepted at a later date. It was agreed that the next Conference should take place in the year 1953 unless, in the view of the Executive Committee, urgent circumstances made an earlier summoning of the Conference necessary. It was agreed that, if Easter 1953 were convenient and arrangements could be made, the Conference should be held at that time rather than in the summer.

The following members were elected to serve on the Executive Committee until the next Conference:

Mr. E. B. Ceadel, Cambridge
Professor Edwards, London
Professor Gibb, Oxford
Professor Porteous, Edinburgh
Dr. W. Montgomery Watt, Edinburgh

Votes of thanks were unanimously accorded to

- (1) the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College, Cambridge, for the hospitality shown to the Conference;
- (2) Mr. F. Richter and the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society, for the generosity shown by the Society in publishing the Proceedings of the Conferences of the Association;
- (3) Professor Ralph Turner of Yale University for his address to the Conference on the UNESCO project for

a "Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind";

- (4) the Secretary of the University Press Syndicate for having arranged a tour of the University Press for members of the Conference on the afternoon of Tuesday, July 24;
- (5) Professor Arberry and Mr. Ceadel for their organization of the Conference.

The Chairman then declared the Conference ended.

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MEMBERS OF THE CAMBRIDGE CONFERENCE, JULY 23-26, 1951

Mr. J. N. D. Anderson (S.O.A.S.)
Mr. Walid 'Arafat (B.B.C.)
Professor A. J. Arberry (Cambridge)
Professor H. W. Bailey (Cambridge)
Dr. J. W. B. Barns (Oxford)
Mr. F. Beckingham (Manchester)
Dr. A. F. L. Beeston (Oxford)
Dr. H. H. Bilgrami (S.O.A.S.)
Rev. Dr. J. Bowman (Leeds)
Dr. J. A. Boyle (Manchester)
Professor J. Brough (S.O.A.S.)
Dr. Pierre Cachia (Edinburgh)
Mr. W. C. Cassels (China Association)
Mr. E. B. Ceadel (Cambridge)
Miss E. M. Chrystal (Cambridge)
Mr. C. D. Cowan (S.O.A.S.)
Mr. David Cowan (S.O.A.S.)
Mr. F. J. Daniels (S.O.A.S.)
Dr. D. Diringer (Cambridge)
Mr. W. A. C. H. Dobson (Oxford)
Professor H. H. Dubs (Oxford)
Mr. H. F. Duckworth (B.B.C.)
Dr. D. M. Dunlop (Cambridge)
Professor T. Fish (Manchester)
Mr. I. J. C. Foster (Durham)
Professor H. A. R. Gibb (Oxford)
Professor S. R. K. Glanville (Cambridge)
Mr. E. M. Gull (China Association)
Mr. A. A. Haidari (Cambridge)
Mr. H. Hakim Ilahi (S.O.A.S.)
Professor D. G. E. Hall (S.O.A.S.)
Professor G. Haloun (Cambridge)

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| Mr. S. H. Hansford (Courtauld Institute, London) | Dr. C. Rabin (Oxford) |
| Dr. Uriel Heyd (Jerusalem University) | Dr. F. Rahman (Durham) |
| Mr. R. L. Hill (Durham) | Professor J. Robson (Manchester) |
| Mr. C. W. Holmes (Durham) | Dr. E. I. J. Rosenthal (Cambridge) |
| Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford (S.O.A.S.) | Dr. C. Roth (Oxford) |
| Mr. T. Kamei (Cambridge) | Sir George Sansom (Columbia University) |
| Dr. D. L. Keene (Cambridge) | Dr. B. Schindler (Editor, "Asia Major") |
| Miss V. C. Lafleur (University College, London) | Professor W. Simon (S.O.A.S.) |
| Dr. D. M. Lang (S.O.A.S.) | Mr. D. Sinor (Cambridge) |
| Dr. R. le May (Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society) | Mr. R. M. Smith (Cambridge) |
| Professor R. Levy (Cambridge) | Mr. D. L. Snellgrove (S.O.A.S.) |
| Professor B. Lewis (S.O.A.S.) | Dr. Barbara Stewart (University of Rangoon) |
| Mr. R. Loewe (Leeds) | Mr. S. C. Sutton (India Office Library) |
| Dr. W. J. Martin (Liverpool) | Mr. S. Talmon (Leeds) |
| Mr. A. Master (India Office Library) | Dr. J. L. Teicher (Cambridge) |
| Professor L. A. Mayer (Jerusalem University) | Mr. M. S. H. Thompson (S.O.A.S.) |
| Dr. A. A. Meguid (Manchester) | Professor A. S. Tritton (S.O.A.S.) |
| Mr. G. M. Meredith-Owens (Cambridge) | Professor Sir Ralph L. Turner (S.O.A.S.) |
| Professor Sir Ellis Minns (Cambridge) | Mr. E. Ullendorff (St. Andrews) |
| Professor V. Minorsky (S.O.A.S.) | Mr. van der Falk |
| Mr. C. S. Mundy (S.O.A.S.) | Mr. O. B. van der Sprenkel (S.O.A.S.) |
| Mr. C. J. Napier (India Office Library) | Dr. R. R. Walzer (Oxford) |
| Mr. E. H. Paxton (B.B.C.) | Dr. W. Montgomery Watt (Edinburgh) |
| Mr. J. D. Pearson (S.O.A.S.) | Dr. R. B. Whitehead (Cambridge) |
| Mr. E. L. Peters (Oxford) | Mr. G. M. Wickens (Cambridge) |
| Mr. J. L. Pollard (Oxford) | Sir Gilbert Wiles (Cambridge) |
| Dr. V. Purcell (Cambridge) | |

Guest

Professor Ralph E. Turner (Yale University)

COMMEMORATION ADDRESS FOR THE LATE DR. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

By Dr. Reginald le May¹

I CONSIDER it a great honour to be invited by the Council of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society to prepare and deliver to you this Commemoration Address on the late Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy. Though somewhat diffident of my competency to assess his merits in an adequate manner, I accepted the invitation to pay this tribute chiefly because he was not

only a scholar but an idealistic art-lover after my own heart—and, as you know, the two do not always or, indeed, often go together.

I met him once only and that was at Boston during my American tour in the autumn and winter of 1933. I had then just retired from my official service as Economic Adviser to the Siamese Government, and I was con-

¹ Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society on May 1, 1952. Mr. C. E. P. Jayasuriya presided, in the unavoidable absence of H.E. the High Commissioner for Ceylon.

templating going up to Cambridge to read for a Doctor's degree on the subject of "Buddhist Art in Siam." Naturally I discussed this project with him, and his advice as to sources of study, Indian and Sinhalese, proved most helpful when the time came to take up my residence at Cambridge. Two of his own works especially, "The History of Indian and Indonesian Art" and "The Origin of the Buddha Image," became my constant companions during my three years at the University. But I was also attracted by his personality, and I knew at once that I had found a kindred spirit.

Ananda Coomaraswamy was born at Kollupitya, Colombo, on August 22, 1877, and he died at Needham, Boston, Massachusetts, on September 9, 1947. He had thus just reached the allotted span of seventy years.

His father, Sir Mutu Coomaraswamy, was the first Hindu (he was a Tamil and not a Sinhalese) to be called to the English Bar in 1863. In 1875 he married Miss Elizabeth Clay Beeby, who came from Kent in England, and he died in Colombo on May 4, 1879, at the early age of 46. Ananda was thus not yet two years old at the time of his father's death. In 1889, when he was twelve years old, he entered Wycliffe College in England, and he stayed there for six years, until 1895, by which time he had become head prefect and was already contributing to the school magazine on the subject of geology.

In 1897 he came back to Wycliffe College, played for the football eleven and completed his Senior, London Matriculation and Inter Arts while still there. In 1900 he took his B.Sc. at London University with first-class honours in geology and botany. In 1903, after becoming a Fellow of University College, London, he obtained his first appointment as Director of the Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon.

I am indebted for all these particulars of Ananda Coomaraswamy's early life to a schoolmaster in Kuantan, Malaya, Mr. Durai Raja Singam, who has taken immense pains to gather together all possible material for a biography. He has collected a full

bibliography of Dr. Coomaraswamy's works as well as the most notable of the obituary notices published at the time of his death, and also a wide selection of what he has called "great thoughts" culled from his writings and speeches. I shall refer to these later. There is no doubt that Mr. Raja Singam is a great admirer of the subject of this address, and much credit is due to him for the labour of love which he has performed. I may add that I have just received from Mr. Raja Singam his memorial volume, entitled, *Homage to Ananda Coomaraswamy*.

Dr. Coomaraswamy remained three years in Ceylon, during which time he founded the Ceylon Social Reform Society and became an active worker in the Ceylon University Movement. In 1906 he obtained the degree of D.Sc. of London, and at the end of the year he proceeded to India on a three months' tour, during which he appears to have developed an intense interest in Indian art and literature, since it is from this formative period that he gave up his career in geology and mineralogy and devoted himself to a study of the arts of India and South-eastern Asia. In 1910 he made an extended tour of Northern India and acquired a remarkable collection of the finest examples of Indian paintings and drawings. While in Calcutta he gave a brilliant lecture on "Mughal and Rajput Painting" at the Indian Society of Oriental Art. In 1911 he came to England and was one of the original founders of the India Society of London, which has now become, as we all know, and are proud to think, the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society. It would have given him especial pleasure to know that the last-named country has been incorporated in our title. Its first president was Dr. Rhys Davids, the famous Pali scholar, and Dr. Coomaraswamy was a member of the original Executive Committee. The chairman was Mr. (later Sir) William Rothenstein, whom I heard lecture shortly before the war on Indian art at the Royal Society of Arts. While in London he delivered a lecture on "The Study of Indian Art" to the Royal Asiatic Society, and as chairman at the

Annual Ceylon Dinner he gave the presidential address on "Education in Ceylon."

It was quite clear by this time in what direction his mind and his great ability were tending, and the next five or six years, during which he found time for a visit to the poet Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan, were spent in study and writing on Indian art and religion, until in 1917 he was appointed Keeper of Indian Art at the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston. This was to be his home for the next thirty years, in fact until he died. In 1922 he became Keeper of Indian and Mohammedan Art, and in 1933 he was made Fellow for Research in Indian, Persian and Mohammedan Art; changes which only signified that the scope of his work and study was being continually enlarged. I feel on very sure ground in saying that it will be a long time before the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston finds such another scholar, philosopher and idealist in the field of Eastern Art, as the servant they have lost.

In 1920 he made a tour of the world during which he went as far as Japan, and in 1921 he spent some little time in his homeland, Ceylon, where he lectured on Indian paintings at the Colombo branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and on "Ancient Sinhalese Art" at the Ananda College, Colombo. In 1924 he became the founder and first president of the Indian Cultural Centre, New York, for promoting a knowledge of Indian culture in the United States and thereby fostering good relations between the two countries.

Thereafter he gave many lectures in the United States, at Columbia University, at Denver and elsewhere on Indian, Indonesian and Far Eastern Art.

In 1936 he was made an honorary member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona in recognition of his services to Indian art. In 1938 he became president of the National Committee for India's Freedom in Washington. Finally, in 1945, two years before his death, he assisted in founding the World Council on Higher Learning, also in Washington.

He lived to celebrate his seventieth

birthday, and a dinner was held in Boston in his honour; while in Ceylon his portrait was unveiled by Sir Charles Collins in the King George V Hall of Ceylon University, which he had done so much to found.

Such briefly is the story of the principal stages in Dr. Coomaraswamy's career. I must now try and give you some idea of his vast output of literary creations. In the Introduction to his Bibliography Mr. Raja Singam quotes Dr. Richard Ettinghausen of Washington as saying:

"There are few scholars anywhere in the world whose publications cover a wider range than those of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy. His researches embrace philosophy, metaphysics, religion and iconography; Indian literature and art, Islamic art, medieval art, music, geology, and especially the place of art in society. More astounding than the sheer quantity of his publications are their extraordinary profundity and originality throughout his career, and their deep influence on the spiritually awakened, scholars and laymen alike, all over the world. There are, indeed, few scholars who, like him, are able to go straight to original sources, and at the same time have the ability and courage to hand on a clear-cut uncompromising message of what they have seen, heard and learned."

This is no mean praise, and I would like to add my own testimony and confirm that I believe every word of it to be true. I think the best thing for me to do is to give you an outline of his major works. This will enable you to judge both of the scope of his mind and of the type of subject which attracted him most.

In 1908 a small but important work appeared from the Essex House Press of Broad Campden entitled *The Aims of Indian Art*. This more or less announced what was to be the course of his life and the main subject of his studies. In 1910 Ganesh and Co. of Madras published his *Art and Swadeshi*, which brought to public notice another aspect and trend of his mind in the political field. This was followed in 1913 by *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, published

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by Foulis of Edinburgh and London; which may be called his first major contribution to our knowledge of Indian art.

Now we see yet another abiding interest of his, for in 1914, in collaboration with Sister Nivedita, he published, through Harraps, *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists*. This was a work of 400 pages with 32 illustrations and attracted much attention. Two years later, in 1916, again through Harraps, he followed with *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, a work of 370 pages with 40 plates, of which 8 were in colour by A. N. Tagore and N. L. Bose.

In 1918 appeared what to some Indians are thought to be his most attractive creations—namely, fourteen Indian essays on *The Dance of Siva*, published in New York by Sunwise Turn, and reprinted in 1948 by the Asia Publishing House of Bombay. Indeed, V. Sutramanian, in his excellent obituary notice (published in *Swatantra* of November 17, 1951), says, "To all students of art and Hindu religion he is best known as the re-discoverer of the glory of the Nata-Raja image."

Now, it will be recalled that in 1917 he was appointed Keeper of Indian Art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. From now on naturally his main studies were devoted to the collections of that museum. In 1923 Parts I, II, and III of the Catalogue of Indian Art appeared. These were followed by Part IV in 1924, by Part V in 1927 and Part VI in 1930. These last two parts were concerned with Rajput and Mughal paintings.

Meanwhile, out of his unbounded energy, he found time to write in 1923 an *Introduction to Indian Art* in the Asia Library series of the Theosophical Publishing House, Madras; secondly, *Les Arts et Métiers de l'Inde et de Ceylan*, published by Vromant of Paris in 1924; thirdly, another work in French, *Pour Comprendre l'Art Hindu*, issued by Bossard of Paris; fourthly, one of his most important works, *The History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, published in 1927 by Weyhe of New York, E. Goldston of London, and Karl Hiersemann of Leipzig; and fifthly, *Les*

Miniatures Orientales de la Collection Goloubev at the Museum of Fine Arts in *Les Editions G. van Oest* of Paris, in 1929. In addition to these he issued in 1927, in the *American Art Bulletin*, his challenging thesis on "The Origin of the Buddha Image."

After 1930 he appears to have turned more and more to philosophy and mysticism, and in 1933 Luzac published for him *A New Approach to the Vedas—an Essay in Translation and Exegesis*. In 1934 the *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists* was reprinted by Farrar and Rinehart of New York with 32 colour plates by Indian artists. In 1935 Harvard published his *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, and in 1937 he gave a lecture at the Metropolitan Museum of New York on "Is Art a Superstition or a Way of Life?" This was followed by many other essays and writings on this theme of art, such as "The Christian and Oriental—or True Philosophy of Art," a lecture given at Boston College, Newton, Mass., in March, 1939. In 1943 Luzac again published for him, this time *Why Exhibit Works of Art?*, and it is clear that his whole being and mind was trying to bring home to man the vital necessity for art in life.

As I wish to show you something of the workings of his mind, I have little space for more in this part of my address, but I must add that in 1948, after his death, Cassells published *The Living Thoughts of Gotama the Buddha*. This was written in collaboration with I. B. Hornor.

I have not seen or read this work, but I have an idea that it was the source of a question put to me by one of the audience after my lecture on "The Development of Buddhist Art in Burma" at the Royal Society of Arts in March, 1949. The questioner mentioned a work of Dr. Coomaraswamy and said that he gathered from it the idea that, in the latter's mind, the Buddha must be regarded more and more as a myth and not as a person. Did I agree with this view? I answered that every religion regarded its founder as a historic person—it must do so—but that it was entirely a question of the temperament of the individual whether he accepted this or not. No man

could answer for his brother. I have mentioned this since it illustrates what I have already said, that the late Dr. Coomaraswamy seems to have turned more and more towards mysticism in his later years.

Of his sayings, I will deal first with those relating to his own homeland.

He wrote that the more he knew of Ceylon's culture, the more inseparable from India did it appear. Indian culture without Ceylon was incomplete, for in many ways Ceylon was a more perfect window through which to gaze on India's past than any that could be found in India itself.

On another occasion he stated that there was scarcely any part of Sinhalese life or religion or art which was quite comprehensible without reference to India. He considered that the greatness of their civilization dated from the wave of Indian influence which reached Ceylon through Asoka's missionaries. And finally: "The noblest of Indian epics, the love story of Rama and Sita, united India and Ceylon in the mind of every Indian; nor is this more so in the South than in the North." All this shows how inexorably the contacts between India and Ceylon drew him towards his life work: the study of Indian art and culture.

On Indian ideals and culture he is enthusiastic in his praise: "The more I know of India, the more wonderful and beautiful appear to be her past achievements. Indian culture is valid not so much because it is Indian as because it is culture. At the same time its special forms are adapted to a specifically Indian nature and inheritance, and they are appropriate in the same way that a national dress is appropriate to those who have a right to wear it."

This shows that he was very intent in shedding the European side of his birth and upbringing, and yet at the same time he could write, as I have done myself, "As regards India, it has been said that 'East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet.' This is a counsel of despair that can only have been born of the most profound disillusion and the deepest conviction of impotence. I say, on the

contrary, that human nature is an everlasting and unchanging principle."

Now, it is a common saying in England that "you cannot change human nature." It is so trite that it is true; but although you cannot change it you can develop it, so that it can shed all its outer trappings and prejudices vis-à-vis another country, if it has the will and energy to do so: since it is an equally obvious platitude that human nature is the same in every country of the world. Only it is so overlaid with local habits and customs that it cannot shed them quickly enough "to understand the other fellow." If it were ever absolute truth that we could not change, i.e. develop, human nature, then the sooner we all cut our throats the better, since religion would have no sense behind it.

Ananda Coomaraswamy's last word on Indian culture is summed up in the following: "When I survey the life of India during the last 3,000 years, and bear in mind her literature, traditions and ideals, the teachings of her philosophy, and the work of her artists, the music of her sons and daughters, and the nobility of the religion they have evolved, and when from these elements I form a picture of an ideal India and an ideal earthly life, I confess that it is difficult for me to imagine a more powerful source of inspiration, a deeper well of truth to draw upon."

On religion he is a man after my own heart, and in these words he expresses my own belief—"As for myself, I will only say that no day passes in which I do not read the Scriptures and the works of the great philosophers of all ages, so far as they are accessible to me in modern languages and in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit. I am wholly convinced that there is one truth that shines through them all in many shapes, a truth greater in glory by far than can be circumscribed by any creed or confined by the walls of any church or temple." Again he says: "At this time I should like to emphasize that I have never built up a philosophy of my own or wished to establish a new school of thought. I fully agree with André Gide that 'Toutes choses sont dites déjà,' and what I

have sought is to understand what has been said. Holding with Heraclitus that the WORD is common to all, and that WISDOM is to know the WILL whereby all things are steered, I am convinced with Jeremias that the human cultures, in all their apparent diversity, are but dialects of one and the same language of the SPIRIT, and that there is a 'common universe of discourse transcending the difference of tongues.' "

To me the tragedy of the world is that each religion considers it necessary and is prepared to fight, even to the death, for its own particular brand, which it believes expresses the only absolute and ultimate truth; and here Dr. Coomaraswamy is treading on rather dangerous ground, since India is, and has been for many centuries, a battleground of religious discord and, it must also be remembered, a land whence Buddhism, the only truly tolerant form of the Universal Truth which he is seeking, was eventually ejected.

After referring to the mutual lack of knowledge, perhaps intentional, between the different religions he, in another passage, says: "Our modern antipathy to religion, and our social reluctance to speak of God, are largely the result of what we have called the 'sentimentalizing' of religion, and the general endeavour to make of the great religious heroes, notably the Christ and the Buddha, the sort of man we can approve of and also, by an elimination of the marvellous features in their lives, the sort of men to whom we can attribute an historical reality and in whom we can therefore 'believe.' We are bewildered by the man who can say 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' but who is far from being convinced that He ever lived."

I have dealt so far with Ceylon, Indian culture and religion. When we come to Indian art in particular there is one passage in *The Aims of Indian Art* which I have quoted in my own work on *Buddhist Art in Siam*, since I feel it must give the clue to any student wishing to understand the significance of form in Eastern art: "It cannot be too clearly understood that the mere representa-

tion of nature is never the aim of Indian art. Probably no truly Indian sculpture has been wrought from a living model, or any religious painting copied from the life. Possibly no Hindu artist of the old schools ever drew from nature at all. His store of memory pictures, his power of visualization, and his imagination were for his purpose finer means. For he desired to suggest the idea behind sensuous appearance, not to give the detail of the seeming reality; that was in truth but Maya, illusion . . . 'to mistake the Maya for reality were error indeed.' " And then he quoted that marvellous saying from the Bhagavad Gita, "Men of no understanding think of me, the unmanifest, as having manifestation, knowing not my Higher Being to be changeless, supreme."

Another of his most pregnant sayings, with which I profoundly agree, is that "Art contains in itself the deepest principles of life, and is the truest guide to the greatest art of all, the art of living. The true life, the ideal of Indian culture, is itself a unity and an art, because of its inspiration by one ruling passion, the desire to realize a spiritual inheritance. All things in India have been valued in the light of this desire."

Here is another example of his peculiarly Eastern attitude towards the aims of art: "The anonymity of the artist belongs to a type of culture dominated by the longing to be liberated from oneself. All the force of this philosophy is directed against the delusion 'I am the Doer.' 'I' in fact am *not* the 'Doe' but the 'Instrument.' Human individuality is not an end but only a means." Further, "The absence of names in the history of Indian art is a great advantage to the historian of art, for he is forced to concentrate all his attention upon their work and its relation to life and thought as a whole, while all temptation to anecdotal criticism is removed."

In these passages that I have quoted it seems to me that he has summed up the great cleavage between East and West, which still unhappily exists and which I doubt if Kipling fully understood. It remains for us of the West who have grown to

understand the East to do our utmost to interpret it to our fellow Western brethren.

I propose to deal with only one more aspect of my subject's character, and that is his attitude towards *Swadeshi*, or "Freedom for India." It must have given him great satisfaction to know, before he died, that India had attained her freedom. In a warning to all Nationalists he says: "Learn not to waste the vital forces of the nation in a temporary political conflict, but understand that art will enable you to re-establish all your arts and industries on a surer basis. *Swadeshi* must be something more than a political weapon. It must be a religious artistic ideal."

Again, "True *Swadeshi* is a way of looking at life. It is essentially sincerity. Seek first this, learn once more the art of living, and you will find that our ancient civilization, industrial no less than spiritual, will re-arise from the ashes of our vulgarity and parasitism of today."

In a wistful reproach he said, "I have sought in vain for any expression in *Swadeshi* writings of a primary desire to make goods more useful or more beautiful than those imported, or to preserve for the country any art, *qua* art and not merely as an industry."

As concerns his attitude towards the West he says: "The inspiration of our nationalism must be not hatred or self-seeking, but love. The highest ideal of nationality is service; and it is because this service is impossible for us so long as we are politically and spiritually

dominated by a Western civilization that we are bound to achieve our freedom." And finally, "It is for us to intellectualize and spiritualize the religious conceptions of the West, and to show that the true meaning of religious tolerance is not the refraining from persecution, but the real belief that different religions need not be mutually exclusive, and the conviction that they are all good roads leading to one end."

To the layman or to the critical outside spectator the enthusiasm of the idealist usually appears to be an overstatement of the case.

However this may be, I want all my hearers to share with me the conviction that Ananda Coomaraswamy was passionately sincere in all his words and works. In this address I have tried to give you, if only briefly, an insight into his mind, and I cannot find a better conclusion than an excerpt from a letter from Dr. S. Radakrishnan to Mr. Raja Singam:

"Among those who are responsible, not only for the Indian Renaissance but for a new Renaissance in the world, Dr. Coomaraswamy holds a pre-eminent position. It is my hope that students who are now led away by the passing fashions of our age will turn to his writings for a proper orientation." To that I say "Amen," and I salute with reverence the passing of a passionate idealist and a true scholar.

I would now ask you all to be kind enough to stand for a moment in his memory.

CONTRASTS IN INDIAN AND WESTERN WAYS OF THOUGHT

By RONALD M. SMITH

IF anything is worth study, it must have a lesson and value for us, and there are few things from which one cannot derive instruction. Yet there is here a lack of sympathy with Indian culture, perhaps with Eastern culture, except Chinese, generally.

It may be said that these have suffered from the political and anti-religious bias of our inter-war intellectuals. They did not exemplify democracy and they did emphasize religion, nor yet were they bizarre, hence it was nobody's interest to give them a write-up.

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But in the case of India this is not the whole explanation; the Hindu and Western ideals are in some respects contradictory, and we will therefore first deal with some Indian ways of thinking.

We may begin by comparing the origin of Greek and Indian thought. Greek philosophy begins from Thales, not from Hesiod or the Orphics, even though Hesiod is Greek in his individualism—for instance, he is not anonymous, and he tells us some of his private affairs. That is, Greek philosophy begins from science, a scientific, hence limited, question, which is a disinterested question, a new initiation of mind, a creative act. Indian philosophy begins from religion, hence its question is not disinterested and merely continues or rearranges a pre-existing world without introducing a new element; it is also a total question.

What is a limited, as opposed to a total, question? One might say the total question is about life, the ultimate. All religions and philosophies are answers to that question, some of them, like the belief in magic, very bad ones. Now, a question about life, or the world, is ultimately a question about ourselves also; a scientific question is not. Hence the answer given to the question about ourselves is largely qualified by our own nature—that is, our deficiencies, which it is our will to fulfil that we may be whole and at rest. Our religion and our art or poetry equally spring from the one source of our imperfection and, if we can, we only believe what we do not dislike.

Yet there is another reason for the early rise of religion, the question about ourselves, arising from the law of least action, that is not more apparent in the physical than the non-physical universe—namely, that science, asking many questions, is gradual, is not final, and confesses ignorance, if less freely than we could wish: yet the more questions one answer will answer correctly, the more pleasure it gives us; we no longer ask or say why this apple or that pear or that stone fall to the ground, but tell how all things heavier than air fall to the ground. How great a satisfaction to our indolence if all questions

could be answered at one shot! And this is done by philosophy and religion: if not, let us pretend it is and say all important questions, and if some of the answer is still bad, we can diminish the number of questions we call important or at least call the bad answer good. Finally, by the assertion of divine sanction we attain the divine perfection of certainty, thus escaping from the vacuum of probability which only the motion of thought, demanding effort, can fill. Yet someone, by the same probability, may find he cannot escape from the errors men have created, and the humility of science, as goodness, is both justified and attractive by the nature of things, for it is in fact the shortest and easy way to the peace and perfection of truth.

Every religion has its scholasticism from our unwillingness to surrender a factitious certitude, won by asserting absolute what is not. This scholasticism will deny, ignore or distort any experience, and this is no less true of the human socialist and communist religions of today. The nonsense about Russians anticipating every scientific discovery or the facile left intellectual analysis of human nature and the cause of evil which, when they have deprived it of any *locus standi*, remains painfully obvious, however such unfounded dogmas be justified (*sic!*) as useful, are not on any higher level than the puerilities of the Brahmanas, c. 900 B.C., such as

“One hundred verses he should recite. Man has a hundred years of life. Verily thus he confers life upon him.”

“He should recite a hundred and twenty (verses). The days of a season are one hundred and twenty. Thus he obtains the season, by the season the year, and the desires that are in the year. . . .”

etc., *ad nauseam*. This magical nonsense is not less intellectual because it is absurd and it was in its day scientific, just as any modern jargon doctrinaires impose on an offending folk. There is a modern as well as an ancient retreat from science, nor do the mental attitudes that are their source differ widely.

The Greeks then, we say, ask the scientific

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question, about non-self—that is, the limited question. Socrates found that involved answering the question about ourselves and philosophy, in our sense, arose. The Indian asked the question about himself; events depend on the self, hence science in India never arose—however transformed, it was always borrowed; it was not necessary to answer the Indian question. And here we may ask the phenomenalist and logical positivist of today who profess to adapt philosophy to science and to draw their inspiration from Berkeley, if Berkeley's new theory of vision is correct, what need is there of Newton or Goethe? By the paths of philosophy they have produced the religion of the sense experimenter: a self (however serial) has become absolute—i.e. God—and it is supererogatory for man to check divine revelation. The religious East has in fact not produced science as we know it.

Again, the Greeks asked the disinterested question—which gives certainly the best assurance of a disinterested answer. What was the fundamental element? Thales thought it was water, but he did not think that by knowing it was water he could make it rain. That magical kind of thought is found in India, in the Brahmanas and, as Edgerton has shown, *J.A.O.S.*, 1929, in the early *upanishads*. In these and in the Atharvaveda *passim*, reward (usually material) is promised to him "who knows this." By knowing X, we control X; if we know life, we control life, and so it is easy to get the goods of the senses that make life desirable—as instanced by the Brahmana passage we quoted above. Note, life still is thought desirable in all thought possibly as late as 800-750 B.C., hence the question what is the essence of physical life (including therefore the world, which, in accordance with primitive thought, is looked on as a personality) is still asked in the Brahmanas and early Upanishads—e.g., Brhad Aranyaka Upanishad I, 3. 18-19: Breath, depending on food, is the essence of life: he becomes chief of his people, an overlord, who knows this. Breath is the essence of the limbs. Or 13. 25-6: He who knows the property of that *sāman*

(chant) has that property. He who knows the gold of that *sāman* comes to have gold, etc.

We have said life is still desirable, sensual pleasures are still worth having, as they were to the Homeric Greek: by the second half of the sixth century we find both that life is by no means desirable—in the circles of progressive thought—and that men are in the bonds of karma. The proof that these beliefs were by now of some age as well as universal in at least these circles is surely that the reformers and heretics of that time never questioned them and above all did not substitute any doctrine of optimism and free-will: although Indian divisions on philosophic matters cut across ours, their optimism is not for the free individual like ours; it is merely that we can overcome the congenital miseries and frustrations of life, not that life is good in itself. This change must have happened after the composition of the Aitareya and Kausitaki Brahmanas, which may be conjectured about 850-00 B.C. and probably in the eighth century, because in the latter half of that century would fall the date of Parsva, the originator of Jainism, which presupposes a pessimistic outlook in some quarters.

But also the idea of abstract or spiritual existence certainly depreciates material—consider the many medieval monkish denunciations of life, or even Plato himself—and this idea was attained as early as the composition of the Sandilya-vidya of Sat. path. Br. X. 6/3 in its final form, c. 750-700 B.C.

Now, if life is worth living, a return by *samsāra* (transmigration) in accordance with karma (one's past deeds) is not in itself pessimistic, for most men will believe their own actions to have been good—and it, at any rate, gives them a chance of being young again, which is enjoyable to man's average sensuality. For instance, in Brhad. Aranyaka Upanishad IV. 3, on being born, one is joined with evils, dying one leaves them and so his enjoyment should be certain and perpetual, and does not lie in escaping individuality. Similarly, IV. 4. 3-6, in describing the state of the soul of those who desire after

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death there is no indication of life or individuality as a curse. The self may take a more beautiful shape. But the discovery of abstract existence must alter the status of concrete. There is a higher way for those who pass beyond, however satisfactory in itself the lower may be. It is typically Indian that one way is not ordained for all mankind, as by the Greek and modern mentality it is. In Indian what is superseded is not repudiated; indeed, in the phrase "passing beyond," the Indian continues to admit, one might say, a value in childish things for children, while we are rather prouder of putting away childish things than of ever having needed them.

To recapitulate, the pleasures of life are still values *c.* 800-750, but it needs merely a shift of emphasis on to the novelties of doctrine, of immaterial existence which man can realize, to introduce the pessimism of Indian thought, never afterwards assailed. It is this pessimism that provides the second interested question for that thought: how can I escape from the bonds of act (*karma*) and transmigration, *samsara*? And the question prescribes the kind of answer and influences the whole intellectual activity.

Here we come to the most complete difference between Indian and Greek—indeed non-Indian—thought, their attitude to personality, or individualism. "What shall I do to be saved?" may be a Hebrew question, but it is also a Western one. But when (if) I have done what I should do, I shall be saved and continue to exist saved. The Greeks either did not need to be saved or sought salvation by the Orphic or mystery cults that owed much to the Semitic world, but there is no flight from individuality. In India there is, and this is of importance today, for it is that fact that makes Vedanta, Buddhism and Communism, Christian or otherwise, attractive to many. It is, therefore, worth while asking whether the fruits of this attitude have been good in India, which we ourselves deny, for many reasons.

Firstly, escape from the fact of individuality is impossible. The social—or at least anti-society or anti-industrial—conscience on

which these groups pride themselves has arisen in the individualistic West, with its sense of sin. In the Brahmanical writings it does not exist—if one has no sin, why bother helping others? While in Buddhism, however keen the sense of the miseries of men (of whom the poor were probably 90 per cent. or more), there is no word of ameliorating their conditions: there is at best, in the Mahayana, a very sincere desire to help them—to the only release conceived possible, the spiritual release, in Nirvana; while in Europe today the idealistic, provided that they can inform themselves that their action will not bring them any cash immediately and therefore their motives are utterly altruistic, imagine they may commit any villainy—as they do—and be justified. Nazi-ism and Communism can be traced back to the romantic rebellions of Europe—they are indeed both ways of hating one's parent and the sensual repressions of a drawing-room, in the intellectual—on the following reasoning: if parents are wrong, they must be disobeyed. Yet what movements have ever demanded and received such blind obedience? Imperfect man, as weak must obey, as strong command; as young needs to depend, as adult will not. Our nature is a sum total; it also abhors a vacuum, so that if we will not fulfil our needs in a normal way we will over-satiate them in another. So in India in the matter of individualism the Indian, in identifying himself with the absolute and denouncing the delusion of individuality, removed the need of ethics and, depriving Hinduism of the normal emotional balance to philosophy, left full room for the excesses into which devotional cults developed—the sexuality of Caitanya's followers, the murders of the Thugs. Nor have the Hindus ever been able to restore the balance, in spite of the saintliness of many religious reformers. If I know the imperturbable and inviolable absolute is the truth behind this world and I am, and therefore am the same, what significance can either you or your miseries have? In denouncing the self the Indian has made the individual concentrate on destroying the self, which is quite as selfish as the

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Christian idea of fulfilling it—and much more difficult. Indeed, just as the desire of economic self-sufficiency has merely aggravated the quarrelsomeness of nations, it is equally true with the attempt at individual self-sufficiency. We are by nature imperfect. Indian thought till the Mahayana is concerned solely with two questions: what is the proper analysis of the self? The answer whereto may (though it does not) tell us the other, how to get rid of it. Hence, the exceedingly slow development of that philosophy, especially when one considers the numbers philosophizing at any one time, as well as the utter pointlessness of science. All the energy of the best minds is concentrated on self, so that the philosophic attack on individuality is a complete failure and the human a retrogression, as, on a materialist hypothesis, self-consciousness is an utterly important stage in the advance of evolution.

One cause, and certainly, later, one result, of the Indian attitude to self is the depersonalization of God and the consequent loss of the sense of sin, which is the most valuable and profoundest part of religious equipment, as well as a preservative mechanism of nature. The Indian priest had no difficulty in controlling his gods; it was hence impossible to feel smaller than they or hence to respect them: hence the paradox, that Indian religion—and religion springs from the internal action of the mind—although with a very live sense of evil, has no sense of sin. Sin is personal. The misery of existence is undenied and undeniable, but it is our misfortune, perhaps our ignorance rather than our vice, at any rate it is our karma, so we at least have no right to complain about it and we can all help ourselves if we want—optimism (effort) and pessimism (resignation) strangely blent.

Ethics depend on the fact of personality—how I treat you. If goodness I want for myself, yet I am building up habits whereby I will treat you—or God—properly. Now, we no way realize personality so well as by our own need, that is the knowledge of our insufficiency, and if we choose to tell ourselves we can fulfil our own imperfection, it

is both untrue and cannot lead us to a correct consideration for others, for whom there is then no need, hence no reason for ethics. Hence, too, the negative content and non-development of Indian ethics and its warning for ourselves. The humanists of today—better called the inhumanists, but how often the half-educated!—deny the supernatural sanction of ethics and, indeed, their human sanction; power and politics are amoral and, given a free hand, which therefore they may legitimately assume, these people could redeem man. Yet it is in times of least inhibition of intellect, when men proudly say they are not evil—*i.e.*, they are good, because they are amoral—that the greatest crimes against individuals and humanity are committed. Who can deny this of our own times? Hence the great good fortune of the Greek, that he felt man could not surpass his gods and must in some degree be dependent on them.

With the loss of the sense of sin and intellectualization of religion, we find also the rise of deliberate scientific enjoyment of physical pleasure. That is, as we said, the more our wants are denied, the more strongly they re-assert themselves and the greater their then excess, the greater the reaction—perhaps in others—against them. This immoderation is characteristic of Indian thought and art, as we shall see later.

We will now consider the Indian attitude to authority, an exaggerated form of the scholastic. Thought is bound by more and more divine revelations as time goes on and originally standard works get older. There is only a weak distinction between man and gods. With these works, gods and one's guru little disagreement is possible, but if one is driven to disagree by the clarity of truth, one has to show they mean what one does one's self, even though they quite certainly did not, do not and could not. Here a great deal of ingenuity and real ability has been expended, which must prove ultimately useless. On the cause of this position we suggest the following remarks.

The Rig Veda was certainly the monopoly of the Brahman caste, whose interest it was

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to exaggerate its claims. Its collection is attributed to Vyasa Dvaipayana, who is put in the generation before the great battle of the Mahabharata. This gives a date in the eleventh century, possibly late in it. As a date shortly before 1500 B.C. is now favoured for the fall of the Indus Valley culture and invasion of the Aryans, there is nothing unlikely in this, unsatisfactory as the evidence is. There was a reason for preserving these hymns, that formalism had already invaded, or rather was innate if we compare native Roman religion, in Vedic Aryan religion, and as certain words, by experience, had produced the desired results, it was safer to use them repeatedly than to try new ones, even if circumstances were slightly different. The words have acquired magic power. This factor obviously does not apply to any secular lays there may have been: we lose interest in the deeds of great grandfathers. Hence the Brahmanical songs early acquired the prestige of age also.

But with the extension of Brahmanical claims and application of Brahmanical magic, hence Brahmanical power, to all life, that religion too claimed omniscience, hence there was no sphere of intellectual research left open and unprejudiced. The modern claim to omniscience comes from the camp followers of science, whose mental pabulum, being the researches of other people, leaves them the easier and more satisfactory duty of dogmatism and the attempt to express power by canalizing all the intellectual activity of others. This is happening obviously today in Russia; less obviously, less completely, the literary and artistic cliques are attempting to do the same here, with gradually less success; but the modernists well realize that if they permitted common-sense free speech, the public would no longer stand their charlatanism. So, too, the Brahmans in Vedic and sub-Vedic India confined intellectual life narrowly and only at two periods thereafter was there a general attempt to burst the bonds, firstly from the time of Yajñavalkya till the Buddha, secondly with Mahayana Buddhism. Thirdly there are chronic but never universal indi-

vidual attempts at devotion (bhakti) which, with the death of their founder, or after a few generations, have always sunk back into the general and undistinguished mass of Hinduism. The Bhagavadgita is the most famous product of one such sect and, while the Sikhs show an exception, the rule holds.

The first compromise between the Vedic cult and the need of thought is the formula "brahma" (the magical power controlling the world) is ātman (the self). The way is prepared for this by the magic use of the such control of life. Two generations before Yajñavalkya Sandilya decides that manas (mind, including the conative and volitional functions), not prāna (the breath), is ātman (the self, the essential part of the living individual). But, in the Indian way, he does not say "prāna=ātman" is wrong: it is right, but "manas=ātman" is not only also true, but a profounder truth. The way is therefore prepared for brahma=ātman, aham (I)=ātman, aham=brahma. Now, this state of belief is not necessarily pessimistic, it is in fact the essence of that optimism which caused the Indian to prefer Hinduism—as an assertion, however qualified, of life—to Buddhism. But in so much as the desire of material gain is the whole outlook of the Brahmanas—almost the sum total of the then available mental pabulum—as the desire for material gain where there is no invention so often merely increases the selfishness and miseries of mankind, as our own days show, so the belief that the world is merely a source of pain offers a liberation; pessimism is attractive as a freedom.

That this doctrine grew up in Brahmanic circles is, I think, shown by the fact that though the final attitude to the world contradicts the first, the transition is gradual and the ancient presuppositions unchallenged. The formulas will do all that is claimed for them: they will give you wealth and sons—the ceremonies survive to this day: but it is not worth doing. The truth may now be known, but authority must be right.

This acceptance of the contradictory is one of the most deeply rooted facts of the Indian mentality. It has two results: the

CONTRASTS IN INDIAN AND WESTERN WAYS OF THOUGHT

capacity for compartmental thinking—and feeling—with which false and self-contradictory ideologies threaten us also—*e.g.*, there is nothing wrong in the State murdering its subjects, however inoffensive, but the private individual may be imprisoned for assault. Secondly, there is the heavy handicap to original progress. As we have said, the human mind cannot bear contradictories without surrendering—*i.e.*, denying—its nature, motion or action in respect of them.

The tragedy of India is that its people have never been able to discard the junk or the lumber. There may be good historical reasons for this, as well as spiritual. For instance, all the invaders of India have been absorbed into the caste system. They have always been minorities, insignificant compared with the native population of the land. None of the invaders before Islam were proselytizers. Hence history protected the junk, while in Europe she destroyed it. The fact remains. For instance, all worship is with the best intention; you cannot get a better standard than is current from low-grade mentalities that are so reflected; at any rate it is only another way of expressing the same thing, therefore it is all equally valuable. *Non sequitur*, but it is by this outlook that a concerted attempt to purify Hinduism from within is impossible. Divine truth can never change. When the sum of science has been revealed by religion—in India, the Vedas—it can never have changed but must always have been true, as now. There can be no room for individual independence.

All religions therefore desire to be static and immemorial. But it is forgotten that such a fact is impossible. For instance, modern Catholicism has the same dogma officially as medieval; even so, it is not looked on with a medieval mind—it cannot be. Again, the founder of medieval Christianity is not Christ but Hildebrand, however sincerely or effectively he sought to obey his Master. In the Veda, gradual abstention from blood sacrifice is clear, but the assertion of divine authority first precludes inspection, especially the idea that the younger may

contradict the older and be right, and finally reform, if it can.

Now, if one cannot discard the lumber, one can never get a fresh start. The successful reformers, Buddha and Mahavira, add no new element to Indian ways of thought. They adopt yoga and asceticism, they accept karma and samsara. They are equally authoritarian and even if they did not claim omniscience themselves—which they may well have done—their followers speedily ascribe to them similar divinity and authority to that ascribed by the orthodox to the Veda and its sages. That is to say, since their mentality was so similar to that of their Brahman opponents, it is not clear that the heresies arose in lands only very slightly brahmanized. Janaka, patron of Yajñavalkya, is given as a keen propagandist of Brahmanism, and it is probable the Brahmans had been in the lower Ganges basin some 400 years before Buddha. If their hold had been so slight, one might have expected an attack on fundamentals, perhaps also appealing to non-Aryan group sentiment. In fact, we get nothing of the sort—it is unthinkable. The fundamentals are accepted with individual exceptions and we have movements comparable rather with the Reformation against Rome than with the present Communist assault on Christianity.

Buddha attacks one Brahmanical postulate: that there is an atman (self); this is merely an answer to the current Brahmanical question what it is. His early career is orthodox, presumably also his education. Only when he has performed the householder's duty and knows he has got a son to carry on the family rites does he retire to the religious life, beginning in the usual way with meditation and asceticism. Six years of such orthodoxy suffice. He finds its falsity and futility, but he also finds an answer of his own to the questions orthodoxy sought to answer. He believes with Heraclitus that all is flux, but more too: that change is also pain—duhkha, misery—and from this pain Buddha has discovered a way of release. From this position the Buddhist disagreements with orthodoxy follow, at a minimum.

CONTRASTS IN INDIAN AND WESTERN WAYS OF THOUGHT

For instance, any member of any caste except a serf could join the order; to admit a slave would rob people of property. But this does not sound like a revolt against caste; it merely ignores it in the spiritual sphere. It is true that long into the historic period caste was by no means as strict as the Brahmins would have liked, or their literature would have us believe. Further, Buddha, being a kshatriya (prince), could hardly have restricted his order. According to the Majjhima Nikaya, he had doubts about the use of preaching his doctrine—for karma, in orthodoxy too, can only be dealt with by its possessor—but he did so by compassion. There is no attack on caste or its correctness in the economic and material world. Buddha was no social reformer, or he would not have preached in peace forty-four years, nor would the Judas of Buddhism have been Devadatta, a rival Buddhist, but some king or Brahman priest.

It might be said that Buddhism shows Indians have been able to discard the old lumber. We would rather say it shows the exception, Buddha, could. Authority in his movement continues to reign supreme. Pali Nikaya or Sanskrit Buddhist sutras alike, with notorious innovations in doctrine, both have to begin "evam me sutam (srutam)"—"so I have heard." With Buddhism Indian spiritual life was greatly quickened, but not mental, and if we seek the reason why development is so slow, it will be found also in the method of teaching—learn off by heart first and understand later; repeat often enough and the meaning will glimmer through. Enormous quantities of stuff—often quite amnemonic—were memorized, and preserved by memory chiefly, though it could equally have been done in writing—another conservatism from the orthodox Vedic schools. The result was that in the formative years the pupil both was never asked to express himself and could not think of it, because his memory and mind were so cluttered up with stuff he could not understand. In the West, too, quick reproduction of good memory frequently passes for genius in the young and deceives them no

less than their mothers. But the authority for memory is other people, hence in Indian epistemology śabda testimony has a far higher place than in Western, and when authority is always external, someone else, there is no reason for, hence no value in, self-reliance or independent judgment, and this predilection for memory and authority weigh heavily on modern India. If Western culture is wanted, it involves either a reversal of traditional values—it is often easier to renounce all than only some—or the stultifying position of compartmental thinking.

We are not here considering the value of Indian and Western attitudes to originality, but we must inform perennial philosophers that in this matter Christianity and Hinduism, orthodox or heretical, are irreconcilable. Western Christianity insists on an absolute value of each living soul, and it is by the distortion of this premise that we get the modern false theories of the need of self-expression, the obligation of uniqueness and communication of one's own vision in art and poetry—it is even by an extension of this premise that we assert a scientific value for every fact and often waste great ability studying the insignificant. From this premise we also get the individualism and variety of our achievement, and while God remained He was all the corrective necessary to the over-valuation of ourselves. On His denial, what a world we have! The Indian never valued the individual for himself. Even in early times he was a member of the chain. So his art or philosophy is by type, not individuality.

There is one further factor in restricting the sphere, as well as in the moulding of Indian intellectual activity, that must be considered—namely, asceticism, a practice in full favour from the earliest times. Since it was so common, abnormal psychic experience and power loomed larger in the Brahman outlook, and as the way to it was by tapas, austerities, and it was therefore almost a Brahman monopoly, as kshatriyas (the warriors) could not by the nature of their duties well perform them, hence both Brahman interest and popular curiosity

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conspired to boost it. As an allied state to trance, deep sleep also attained abnormal importance in Indian thought, for instance in the early Indian conception of absolute unqualified existence, and nirvana. Now, it is not in fact legitimate to explain the normal from the abnormal; some today may say that both, being relative, are equally valid and there is no difference between good and evil, sanity and madness. But all human life is lived on the assumption of physical and psychical normality.

Secondly, the study of the occult, being by its very nature super-rational, is very dangerous to conscious reason, which is not the proper tool. There is a great deal subjective in it and a considerable effort of our own in creation. It may well be that today, with our Freudian equipment, such study is much safer, but in early times the insistence on explaining the inexplicable, understanding

the unintelligible, or being what one is not by mere will, makes very heavy demands on the mind, which, in contemplation, is not permitted activity but is kept at one proposition, as it were as if one were unceasingly revving up an aeroplane engine. The sphere of mental operations is accordingly restricted. The problem is being Y to be X; this demands a continuous effort of will and is unsolved again as soon as the effort ceases, yet the intellect, by its own choice, cannot advance till the problem is solved. Hence it is unable to proceed to new problems. In this lies the explanation of the curious position of the Upanishads: I cannot know Brahma (advaita, having no second) by definition, but I can be it. That is to say, the mind, kept at excessive tension, snaps, as it were, and can only continue to exist by adopting an irrational position.

ROYAL INDIA, PAKISTAN AND CEYLON SOCIETY

FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT

THE Society has had a very full programme. Several highly successful dance recitals and film shows have been given, in addition to the usual lectures and exhibitions. The latter have included, for the first time, the works of a Pakistani and a Sinhalese artist. The Music Circle has been notably active.

SUMMER SCHOOL

The outstanding feature of the year was undoubtedly the Summer School, held at Balliol College, Oxford, from July 13 to 17, which was honoured by a visit from the High Commissioner for Ceylon and Mrs. Wijeyeratne. He gave a memorable lecture on Buddhism in Ceylon. A number of overseas students were invited as guests of the Society.

PUBLICATIONS

Two numbers of the Journal for the year were distributed to members, in addition to the second issue for the previous year, which had been unavoidably delayed.

A number of members availed themselves of the opportunity to purchase, on special terms, *The Dance Art from India*, by Ram Gopal and Serozh Dadachanji.

Another volume, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, by W. G. Archer, with a frontispiece in colour and seventy illustrations, and an introduction by Sir Leigh Ashton, is being made available to members at the special price of seven shillings.

A book entitled *The Laud Ragamala Miniatures*, a study of Indian paintings and music, by Herbert J. Stooke and K. Khanda-

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lawala, with eight plates in five colours and ten reproductions in half-tone, will shortly be available to members at 12s. 6d. per copy. This work reproduces paintings from the collection of Archbishop Laud which were acquired later by the Bodleian Library.

The arrangement by which the Society publishes in its Journal the proceedings of the Association of British Orientalists is being continued.

THE LECTURE PROGRAMME

(a) GENERAL PROGRAMME

For the Francis Younghusband Lecture Sir Basil Gould kindly showed his films of Lhasa and Bhutan on January 15. Sir William Barton presided.

Dr. Bijan Bihari Lal, of the Archaeological Department, Government of India, gave an illustrated lecture on "Some Aspects of South Indian Wall Painting," and dwelt on the problems of preservation. Mr. Basil Gray presided.

Miss Elizabeth Balneaves delivered an address on "The Arts and Crafts of Pakistan" at the Imperial Institute on the occasion of the opening of the exhibition of the paintings of Zainul Abedin.

Mr. Norman Marshall gave a lecture on "The Appreciation of Shakespeare in Asia" (jointly with the East India Association) at Over-Seas House on May 10. He had been in charge of a group of players who toured India, Pakistan and Ceylon to give recitals from Shakespeare. Lt.-General Sir Kenneth Loch presided.

(b) INDIAN INFLUENCES

On February 12, at the Imperial Institute, Mr. K. Hazareesingh spoke on "Indian Culture in Mauritius," and showed a film of the island. Lord Pethick-Lawrence presided.

On April 3 Dr. Reginald le May gave an illustrated lecture on "Indian Influences in the Monuments of Cambodia." Admiral Sir Howard Kelly presided. On May 31 the Rt. Hon. R. A. Butler, M.P., Chairman of the Society, presided when Dr. le May spoke

on "The Glories of Angkor." These two lectures were given jointly with the Royal Central Asian Society.

On May 15 Professor Louis Renou, of Paris University, spoke in French on "Indian Influences on French Literature." On May 22 M. George Coedes gave a lecture on the cult of divine kingship as a source of inspiration in the great monuments of Angkor. These two lectures were held jointly with the French Institute.

FILMS

Mr. Aloy Perera showed two beautiful films of Ceylon on June 18 and July 2.

On October 4 a very artistic film on Java (kindly lent for the occasion by the Cultural Department of the Indonesian Embassy) was shown at the British Council Film Theatre.

GRANTS

The Council acknowledges with thanks the donation of £200 from the British Treasury.

The Council has also received a grant of £100 from the Baroda Education Department. A generous supporter, who wishes to remain anonymous, has made a contribution of £200. It is understood that the Hyderabad Government is continuing the grant of £250 for the year under review. The Mysore State contributed £10. The Council desire to express their gratitude for these benefactions.

DANCE

Two dance recitals were held by the Society. On May 15 Mr. and Mrs. Wayan gave an exhibition of Balinese dancing at the Imperial Institute, and included in the programme the well-known Candle Dance from Sumatra.

Shrimata Amita Devi, who comes from Assam, gave a performance of North Indian dances at the Irving Gallery on July 7.

Tickets were provided for students to attend performances of Ram Gopal at the Cambridge Theatre in January, and the show was held under the auspices of the Society.

EXHIBITIONS

Zainul Abedin, the Pakistani artist, showed his paintings and brush drawings under the Society's auspices at the Imperial Institute in December.

In the same month members of the Society had a private view of the work of the Sinhalese painter Ranjit Fernando at the Montage Gallery. This artist belongs to the 43 Group.

Members were also invited to a private view of the Sir William Rothenstein Collection of Indian paintings and drawings at the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

ORIENTAL MUSIC CIRCLE

On February 27 Mr. J. R. Marr, who had recently returned from a visit to India, spoke on the primary Raga system of South Indian music. This was followed next month by a talk by Mr. Iroaganachi on West African folk music.

Madame Subandrio, the wife of his Excellency the Indonesian Ambassador, invited members to the Embassy on April 19 to hear a talk by her on Indonesian music. Her deep interest in the work of the Society is greatly appreciated by the Council.

On April 12 Mr. R. J. Taylor described the songs of the troubadors, trouvères and minnesingers, and Mr. A. T. Hatto gave an introductory talk. Mr. English provided illustrative music from choir boys of St. Paul's Cathedral.

On May 18 Mr. Zong-in-Sob lectured on Korean music, and on October 31 Mr. Jasim Uddin gave a performance of marriage songs

of East Pakistan, which he illustrated by records of songs by village girls and rural paintings of wedding ceremonies.

Mr. J. R. Marr spoke again on November 13, this time on the Janya Pagas, the scales of South Indian classical music, which he illustrated vocally and with records.

It has been gratifying to see that students from Asia are attending the Society's meetings in increasing numbers.

ABANINDRA NATH TAGORE

The Society has suffered a great loss by the death of Abanindra Nath Tagore, the distinguished artist, who was a member of the Society from its early years, and was one of its first Vice-Presidents. He was for some time Professor of Fine Arts at the University of Calcutta, a post in which he followed the late E. B. Havell, who was one of the founders of the Society. Reference to Abanindra Nath's career will appear in the Journal.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

During the year their Excellencies E. A. P. Wijeyeratne, the new High Commissioner for Ceylon, and Sir Oliver Harvey, British Ambassador in Paris, were elected Vice-Presidents.

COUNCIL

Mr. Hermon Ould, the General Secretary of the P.E.N. International, who had recently returned from India, was elected to the Council. His death is greatly regretted.

INCHCAPE.

President.

ANNUAL ACCOUNTS

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED
DECEMBER 31, 1951.

EXPENDITURE.			INCOME.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
<i>To Publications:</i>			<i>By Annual Subscriptions</i>		
INDIAN ART AND LETTERS	..	..	<i>Life Subscription Lapsed</i>	..	..
General Printing	..	..	<i>Post Office Savings Bank Interest</i>	..	..
	695	4 4	<i>Dividends on Investment (Net)</i>	..	..
	3	3 8	<i>Increase in Valuation of Stock of Books at</i>	..	..
<i>Purchase of Books</i>			<i>December 31, 1950</i>	..	..
<i>Lecture, Meeting and Exhibition</i>			<i>Sales of Publications</i>	..	..
<i>Expenses:</i>			<i>Special Contributions:</i>	..	..
H.H. The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda	104	16 0	H.H. The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda	104	16 0
Fund .. ..	..	..	Treasury Grant	..	..
General Lectures	..	..	Mysore Government	..	..
	57	7 4	Sundry Grants	..	..
	162	3 4		225	0 0
<i>Less Receipts</i>	..	..	
	3	9 9			
<i>Summer School Expenses</i>	..	..	<i>Miscellaneous Receipts:</i>		
	240	14 3	Advertising	..	..
<i>Less Receipts</i>	..	..	Sundry .. ..	..	..
	158	19 3		20	0 0
				3	13 6
<i>Administration Expenses:</i>					
Secretary's Honorarium	..	..	
Clerical Assistance	..	..	
Rent of Office	..	..	
Lighting and Heating	..	..	
Insurance	..	..	
Telephone	..	..	
Secretary's Expenses, 1951, and balance	..	..	
from 1950	..	..	
Printing and Stationery	..	..	
General Postage	..	..	
Advertising	..	..	
Audit Fee	..	..	
Travelling Expenses	..	..	
Sundry Expenses	..	..	
Income Tax	..	..	
Corporation Duty	..	..	
	489	10 10			
	104	1 2			
<i>Excess of Income over Expenditure for the Year</i>					
	£1,669	0 10		£1,669	0 10

BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1951.

LIABILITIES.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>Accumulated Fund:</i>										
<i>Balance as at January 1, 1951 ..</i>	..	990	9	8				728	0	0
<i>Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for the Year ..</i>	..	104	1	2						
		1,094	10	10						
		1,292	1	3						
<i>Add Life Subscriptions ..</i>	..				2,386	12	1			
<i>Current Liabilities and Reserves:</i>										
<i>Sundry Creditors ..</i>	..									
<i>Subscriptions paid in Advance ..</i>	..	18	6	8						
<i>Reserve for Cost of Printing Book on Archaeology in Mysore ..</i>	..	70	10	10						
<i>Amount due to the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in respect of Sales of the "Red Tortoise" ..</i>	..	100	0	0						
		44	19	4						
					233	16	10			
					£2,620	8	11			
<i>Assets.</i>										
<i>Current Assets:</i>										
<i>Stocks of Books ..</i>	..									
<i>Investments:</i>										
£400 Commonwealth of Australia 4 per cent. Registered Stock, 1955-70 (the Market Value at December 31, 1951, was £384) ..	..							378	11	0
Post Office Savings Bank ..	..							666	10	7
								1,045	1	7
<i>Payments in Advance and Sundry Debtors ..</i>	..							256	16	10
<i>Cash at Bank:</i>										
Current Accounts ..	..							397	12	5
Exhibition Account ..	..							11	8	3
Modern Indian Art for British Galleries Account ..	..							14	5	0
Mysore Account ..	..							100	0	0
Hospitality Account ..	..							67	4	10
								590	10	6
								£2,620	8	11

AUDITORS' REPORT TO MEMBERS

*Vice-Chairman, WILLIAM BARTON, { Members of
Hon. Treasurer, FRANK H. BROWN. } the Council.*

We report that we have examined the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account, with the books of the Society and vouchers relating thereto, and have verified the Cash Balances. We are of opinion that the above Balance Sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society according to the best of our information, and explanations given to us, and as shown by the books of the Society.

RUSHTON, OSBORNE AND CO.,
Chartered Accountants.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Forty-fourth Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, May 1, 1952, at the Royal Society of Arts, John Adam Street, W.C.2, the President, the Right Hon. the Earl of Inchcape, in the chair.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. RICHTER, O.B.E., read the notice convening the meeting.

The PRESIDENT: Before proceeding with the business of the Annual Meeting of our Society I have to refer to the grievous loss suffered by the Commonwealth in the death of his late Majesty, King George VI. During his life and reign George VI was always a great believer in and lover of the Commonwealth of Nations; he did much to bind it together, and the very genuine expression of sympathy offered by the peoples of India, Pakistan and Ceylon on his death was a wonderful tribute to his life and example in his position as head of the Commonwealth. His personal interest in our Society was marked by his authorizing the title "Royal" during his reign in 1944 and by his bestowing of the Order of the British Empire on our Hon. Secretary, Mr. Richter.

We greet the accession of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II with pride and hope.

I also have to refer to the death of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, which deprived the Commonwealth of a great personality. He attended a reception arranged by the Society in his honour soon after his election at the Islamic Cultural Centre.

The death of Mr. Senanayake, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, and an Hon. Vice-President of the Society, is also deeply mourned. The Society will cherish his memory particularly in that he authorized the inclusion of Ceylon in our title.

The Society has sustained a further loss in the death of another of its Vice-Presidents and one of its oldest members, Abanindra Nath Tagore, which is referred to in the Annual Report; and we have also learned

with regret of the death of Mr. Hermon Ould, who as secretary of the International P.E.N. Club gave great help to the Society in the literary field.

I am very pleased to welcome you all here today. We are especially pleased to see Mme. Subandrio, the wife of the High Commissioner for Indonesia, M. le Roy representing the French Ambassador, Mr. Kidwai representing the High Commissioner for India. The High Commissioner, Mr. Ispahani, was sorry not to be able to attend the meeting as he had hoped, but he is being represented by Sayyad Hyder. Our friend the High Commissioner for Ceylon is, I regret to say, not well, and this meeting, I feel sure, will wish him an early and complete recovery from his indisposition. But we very warmly welcome Mrs. Wijeyeratne, his wife, who also takes a great interest in our work, and Mr. Jayasuriya, the Trade Commissioner, who will preside later today at our Commaraswamy Memorial Meeting.

We have received a message from our Chairman, Mr. R. A. Butler, regretting his absence today because of his Parliamentary duties. We miss his presence today, because his continuing active interest in our affairs in spite of his onerous duties as Chancellor of the Exchequer is most heartening and helpful, but in the circumstances we can hardly be surprised that he has not found it possible to attend.

ANNUAL REPORT

I will now refer to our activities during the past year, which have been wide and varied. The Summer School was by common consent the most successful so far held by the Society.

It was much appreciated by the students from India, Pakistan and Ceylon who attended, and we were grateful to the High Commissioner for Ceylon and Mrs. Wijeyeratne for having come. It would be invidious to single out any particular lectures for

comment, but special reference might be made to the two lectures given by Dr. le May.

One of the most attractive features of our activities are our dance recitals. We are very pleased to thank Mr. Ram Gopal for arranging for our members to attend his performances in London, and warm thanks are due to Madame Wayan for arranging an exhibition of Balinese dancing at the Imperial Institute. I would also thank her for her great interest in our Society.

We were glad to arrange exhibitions by Pakistani and Sinhalese artists and to devote a number of our Journal to the Rothenstein Collection exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Curator of the Indian Section devoted much time to the compilation of that number.

The Music Circle has been active during the year, and we would thank the Overseas League for allowing the Circle to meet on their premises without charge. We have caught up with the dates of the publication of the Journal and the production has been much improved. In addition members have been able to purchase some notable books at favourable prices.

I have recently returned from an extended tour of India and Pakistan during which I had the pleasure and privilege of being received by the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, and Mr. Ispahani, Prime Minister of Pakistan. I have come back to London with the happiest impressions of my tour, and I am convinced that we are developing in a firm and sound way a new friendliness with the two great Dominions which will benefit each and all of us greatly in the years to come. This Society can and is playing through its cultural activities a tremendous part in fostering this development and in helping to bring the East and West together. The importance and value of this work cannot be too highly emphasized. British companies operating in India, Pakistan and Ceylon are encouraging their assistants to interest themselves more than they have in the past in the culture and art of the country in which they live and work,

and I know they will find their interest well rewarded.

We are holding our Summer School this year at Wadham College, Oxford, from June 27 to 30, and I do hope that as many as possible of our members will go, and that those who are here will not only come but tell others and persuade them to come too. It should be a happy and pleasant occasion.

Our membership has gone up since last year, but our numbers are still inadequate, for our present prosperity is dependent on grants. This problem will have our earnest consideration during the year and any help any members can give in getting new members will be most acceptable.

I would express the warm thanks of this meeting to the following who have made generous grants during the year: the British Treasury, the Government of Hyderabad, the Education Department of Baroda, and the Mysore State.

I beg to move that the Annual Report be adopted.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON seconded the proposition. He thought it would be agreed that the year has been a very interesting one; the credit for what had been done was due to what could be described as a trinity—Sir Frank Brown, Mr. Richter and the Council. Without the help so freely given of Sir Frank Brown and Mr. Richter the Society would find things difficult. With regard to the Council, the members were a very strong team, keen on the subjects in which they were interested; they had ideas and ideals and were always ready to do the best they could to help on the activities of the Society.

Lord Inchcape had referred to Dr. le May. He was sure the meeting would like him to say how much his work was appreciated. Time and again he had given the Society the benefit of his wide knowledge of the culture and the ways of life in South-east Asia, Siam and Indonesia. Lately the Society had moved into the Indonesian field and South-east Asia territory; the Council was particularly grateful for the encouragement it had had from their

ANNUAL MEETING

Excellencies of the Indonesian Embassy; the lectures given by Madame Subanirio during the last year had been much appreciated.

The Summer School was perhaps one of the most important ventures of the year. The School had great possibilities, but they could not be developed without more support. It was the custom to invite students from overseas to the school, from which they as well as members received benefit; one got ideas as to what was going on in the student mind, new friendships were formed, the students themselves benefited from meeting members of different nationalities; now and again a Pakistani and an Indian contracted a friendship which might be useful later on in life in a wider field. He wished there was more support, that the work of the Society was more appreciated and more widely known in Britain. The Society was fortunate in having Lord Inchcape to help.

Many years ago in Hyderabad at a small dinner at the Residency a distinguished Indian elder statesman told his wife that every Sunday he stayed in bed until lunch-time reading Jane Austen: it gave him strength for a strenuous week's work ahead. "She is so quiet," he commented. That reflected the attitude of educated people in India and Pakistan towards Western culture. How did we respond? Were there any Englishmen who read the Bhavagadbitha even in translation on a Sunday morning? He thought it was unlikely. We had to go a long way before we reached the standard achieved by our friends from the East in their study of Western culture. We should almost need a Colombo Plan in the cultural field to get level with them. It was a great field of work, and he thought the Society could congratulate itself on playing a small part in it.

The report was adopted.

ANNUAL ACCOUNTS

Sir FRANK BROWN, Hon. Treasurer, then presented the accounts for the year and moved their adoption. He said, "I am glad that I

have a fairly satisfactory report to give you. The Chairman has referred to the interest taken in our Society by Mr. Butler, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I felt that as we have balanced the accounts satisfactorily he should see them. He writes in reply how very pleased he is to note the progress the Society is making. He is very sorry to be unable to come to the annual meeting so that he might express his congratulations as Chairman of the Society in person. We all know that the reason is his strenuous work at the Treasury and in Parliament at the present time. I am very glad to give that personal message from him.

Members will see that on the expenditure side of the accounts, as with all other organizations, costs tend to rise. The fact that the printing and distribution of ART AND LETTERS is £698 as compared with £326 in the previous twelve months arises mainly from the fact that three issues were paid for during the calendar year. The cost of lectures is down from £193 to £158 in the year under review. This is due not to a reduction in our programme of lectures, but in large measure to the hospitality we have enjoyed from various friends, and in particular in this connection we are indebted to Madame Subandrio for invitations to her hospitable home on more than one occasion. The increased rent of the premises, which took effect in the last quarter of the year, is reflected in the statement of accounts. The cost of the Summer School was £81 as compared with £27 at Cambridge in the previous year, but this was mainly due to the fact that we had more student guests. It is very desirable that we should have students from India, Pakistan and other countries at these gatherings. The total expenditure of the year has gone up from £1,584 to £1,669.

On the income side of the accounts, I am very pleased that, as the Chairman has indicated, there has been some increase in membership and as a consequence the subscriptions have increased from £439 to £504. A welcome addition to our income is £20 for advertising. This is, I believe, the first time we have obtained anything from

advertising in *ART AND LETTERS* and I hope that this will be an expanding asset. The sale of books has been remarkably good, £512 having been received in that way as compared with £332 in the previous year. Members are, as you are aware, able to purchase books at special reduced rates. The President has referred to the grants which we have received, including the grant from the Treasury, and in the connection I would mention the good offices of our valued friend Lord Pethick-Lawrence, who is with us today. The President said nothing about an anonymous gift of £200 from a donor who does not wish his name to be given. Whether that donor is here or not, we must express our grateful thanks to him.

The net result of the activities of the Society in 1951 is that for the first time for several years we have a balance to the good, as compared with a deficit in 1950 of £27. Year after year I have complained about these deficits, but now I can report a balance of £104. The Society is now in the forty-fourth year of its existence. The financial statement and the report which has been presented enables us to go forward with what I may call sober confidence for the future.

LORD PETHWICK-LAWRENCE: I am very glad indeed to be given an opportunity of seconding the adoption of the accounts. We have had a most interesting speech by the Treasurer. It is fortuitous that in this particular year we have this balance of income over expenditure. We can be sure that it will be greatly needed in the course of the current year. There is one suggestion I wish to make. Sir Frank has pointed out the comparisons between 1951 and the previous years. It would be helpful to members if in future such a comparison was printed on the accounts, as is often done in other societies. Thereby members will be able to study at leisure the comparison between one year and another.

Finally, I come to the Treasury grant of £200, and I should like to remind you that that was first given to our Society when Sir Stafford Cripps was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and we hold him in affectionate

remembrance for that gift. He had great clarity of mind, he could make brilliant analyses of situations, he had initiative and a great drive for work, and I am afraid overwork, which we can only feel his recent death was partly due to. Finally, he had a deep religious sense which was the inspiration of his passionate desire to benefit his fellows and which made him a dear comrade, loyal friend, and one who impressed one with a sense of wishing to give to his countrymen and to peoples of other nations a full measure of good.

The resolution to adopt the accounts was carried.

RE-ELECTION OF HON. TREASURER AND HON. SECRETARY

MR. J. A. MILNE: I have been given a very pleasing duty to perform, and that is to propose the re-election of our two stalwarts, Mr. Richter and Sir Frank Brown. It would be a work of supererogation for me to recapitulate the wonderful services which Mr. Richter has rendered and always has rendered to this Society, and it would be difficult to imagine it without the benefit of his immense energy, enthusiasm and ever-willing help. Nothing daunts our Hon. Secretary in furthering the work of the Society. If there is anything he thinks it wants, anything he can do to help, you may rest assured that he will succeed. He has never been known to fail, partly because of his disarming methods and partly because he has a happy knack of persuading people that he, representing the Society, is really doing them a favour, and they have not the heart to refuse him. I can say that from my own experience.

In Sir Frank Brown we have a most loyal and enthusiastic supporter of the Society and one who takes a delight in furthering its interests. He also jealously guards our finances, and it is remarkable how he succeeds in these extraordinarily difficult times. We owe him a very great debt of gratitude.

DR. GAN: I have great pleasure in seconding

this motion. What is needed in a Treasurer in a Society like ours is tremendous energy and patience. No one can surpass Sir Frank Brown in these virtues. He is the Grand Old Man of the Society and he is perhaps the youngest of us. That may seem a paradox, but my statement is true if you measure health in terms of action. A French writer once wrote that one should think like a man of action and act like a man of thought, and anyone who knows Sir Frank Brown as I do will think that he is just the man this writer had in mind and he is just the person we need in our Society.

I do not think it is necessary to say anything separately in favour of my old friend Mr. Richter, since I know that Sir Frank Brown and Mr. Richter constitute to all intents and purposes a single entity in the work of our Society, and what applies to one can be applied to the other. Perhaps I am wrong in my judgment that the secretary of an organization like ours whose aim and object is to foster on a cultural basis friendship with India, Ceylon, Pakistan and other Asian countries must be tactful and imaginative. There is an old French expression: "Qui dit bonhomie dit humanité," and this humanistic attitude of Mr. Richter is successful in making this Society more real every day, and in extending and continuing friendly relations with other institutions in Paris and other capitals whose aim and object is similar to ours. Every act of Mr. Richter is a contribution to the realization of the ideals for which we stand.

Mr. Milne put the proposition to the meeting and it was declared carried.

RE-ELECTION OF COUNCIL

Mrs. HOLMES : I have much pleasure in proposing the re-election of the following to the Council :

Mr. Archer, Mr. Elton, Mrs. Hendrey, Lady Hutton, Mr. Lawson-Reece, Sir Harry Lindsay, Dr. le May, Professor Philips, Mr. Powell-Price, Mr. Polak and Miss Sunday Wilshin.

I want to remove the word "work" and

stress "enjoyment." Although our meetings are based on hard work, the main thing is that we enjoy them very much, and we have done a little to make other people enjoy the art and culture and literature of the countries we have the privilege of considering. It is no good just educating people in other people's culture and art unless we can help them to enjoy them. I do hope that we shall repeat such delightful occasions when the lecturer bursts into song, as Mr. Jasim Uddin did when he talked about the marriage songs of Pakistan.

It is not fair, perhaps, in asking you to re-elect a number of distinguished members of Council, to say that they do not work hard. They do; and when you hear that they represent such varied walks of life as literature, the arts, scholarship, education, the B.B.C., medicine and the legal profession, I think you will realize how it is that we have so much variety in our programme. I hope we can go on seeing more contemporary art from the three countries we represent. We would like to see more painting, to hear more music, to read more of the work of the young writers and painters and musicians of today; and therefore may I please call upon the representatives here of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Indonesia to let us know when painters, writers and musicians come over here, so that we may help them to show their work to the rest of this country.

Mr. ABEYESINGHE seconded the proposal and it was carried.

RE-ELECTION OF AUDITORS

Messrs. Rushton, Osborne and Co., Chartered Accountants, were re-elected Auditors for the current year, on the the proposal of Mr. SIDDQUI seconded by Dr. SUNDER GHOSH.

ELECTION OF VICE-PRESIDENTS

On the motion of the PRESIDENT, seconded by Mr. H. S. L. POLAK, Dr. Reginald le May was elected an additional Vice-President, in recognition of his great services to the Society.

Dr. REGINALD LE MAY thanked the meeting very much for this high honour. He assured the members that he would do his utmost as long as he had life to further the interests of the Society.

On the motion of the PRESIDENT, seconded by Sir WILLIAM BARTON, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir was elected a Vice-President.

TRIBUTE TO THE PRESIDENT

The BARONESS RAVENSDALE : As I look on the position of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society, the President's status is a very important one. He holds a watching brief in that position for all those countries who are in their birth-pangs of self-development, to see if his Society can help, foster or assuage any of the problems that arise culturally and spiritually between the old England that offered them much of her wisdom in self-government in years gone past and the young countries now bursting with self-pride and determination in their new-found freedom. Lord Inchcape has given himself so gallantly, not only materially from his open and generous purse; he has

appealed to business firms for corporate membership, and do I not know myself what hard nuts magnates can be? He has given a welcome in his lovely Regent's Park home to eminent representatives from Asia and held receptions for them there. If I may say so, that is as vital as anything that the Society does. Only by knowing each other, East and West, and by holding hands in humble friendship, not jealousy, can the two, East and West, possibly understand each other and be fitted to build together one world, not a nationalist-minded, insane world with independent countries shouting their own isolated importance from the roof-tops.

By his wisdom and practical help, as you have heard from Sir Frank Brown, our bank balance has improved out of all knowledge. Thank you, Lord Inchcape. May I say this: Only the things of the spirit can and must win in the final battle against what I call material advancement and power politics. We want a faith for living, a design for living, and the Society of which you are President tries to keep that flame burning, and we offer you our humble gratitude.

The PRESIDENT thanked Lady Ravensdale and the meeting closed.

BOOK REVIEWS

Monthly Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Vol. III, No. 5 (Calcutta: 111, Russa Road.)

The current issue contains the account of the 500th anniversary meeting to celebrate the birth of Leonardo da Vinci. This meeting was presided over by Sir Abani C. Bannerjee. Rama Coomaraswamy, the son of the famous scholar, who is pursuing higher studies in Indian art at the University of Calcutta, read a paper on Leonardo and the Indian artist, which is reproduced in the bulletin in summary form.

In the last issue of the journal for 1951 (No. 12), Dr. Kalidas Nag (whom the

Society has had the pleasure of welcoming in London this summer) is referred to as presiding at a meeting on "Japan and the Western World." In the same number the work of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society is warmly commended.

Indian Institute of Culture (6, North Public Square Road, Basavangudi, Bangalore).

Among recent Transactions published by the Institute are: No. 12, "The Life and Thought of Avicenna," by H. J. J. Winter, and No. 14, "Leonardo da Vinci," by O. C. Gangoly, both of whom are well-known members of the Society.

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ERRATUM

In the review of Dr. Quaritch Wales's "The Making of Greater India" by George Coedes on page 55, first column, five lines from the bottom of the page "eastern zone" should read "western zone."

ROYAL INDIA, PAKISTAN AND CEYLON SOCIETY

FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT (1950)

THE Society maintained its varied activities during the year, and indeed in some respects covered new ground.

In view of the close interaction of Indian and Ceylonese art the Council felt that it would be fitting to include the name of the island Dominion in the title of the Society. With the cordial approval of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, the President approached the King asking for his gracious permission for such addition to be made to the title. The permission was granted by His Majesty, and to mark the event the High Commissioner for Ceylon accepted an invitation to become a Vice-President.

PRESIDENT

Another outstanding event of the year was the retirement of Lord Zetland as the President, a post which he had filled with so much acceptance for no less than twenty-five years. The Council received his decision with deep regret, but recognized that as he is now seldom in London, and had zealously served the Society over so long a period, he could not be further pressed to continue in the office. Lord Inchcape was elected President in his place, and has already rendered the Society most valuable support and counsel.

FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND MEMORIAL LECTURE

Father Detry, Canon of the Great St. Bernard Monastery in Switzerland, gave an account at the Arts Council of his journey in Tibet in 1947, when he covered nearly 2,000 miles on foot. The lecture (held jointly with the Royal Central Asian Society) was entitled "South-east Tibet and the Yunnan Frontier," and was illustrated with his own film. The Baroness Ravensdale presided. (January 17.)

SOCIOLOGY

Mademoiselle Jeanne A. L. Cuisinier, D.-ès-L. (Sorbonne, Paris), gave a talk on "The Women in Indochinese Society" at the French Institute. The lecturer has spent many years in South-east Asia on scientific missions, and is the author of *Danses Magiques de Kelantan* and *Les Mu'ong: Géographie Humaine et Sociologie*. Sir Richard Winstedt was in the chair. (November 2.)

Mr. Jasim Ud-Din, during his visit to this country as a delegate to the P.E.N. International Conference, spoke on "The Folk Literature of East Pakistan and Aspects of Village Life," and delighted the audience by his rendering of the songs. The meeting was held at the Over-Seas League and Mr. William Archer presided. (September 11.)

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

Professor T. R. V. Murty, holder of the Chair of Philosophy at the Benares Hindu University, gave a general talk on "Mahayana Buddhism" at the Belgian Institute, and a lively discussion followed. Mr. Christmas Humphreys, K.C., who had recently returned from a tour of the Far East to visit all the Buddhist centres, was in the chair. (April 5.)

FILM SHOWS

Mr. M. Lerner, showed his colour film of a recent visit to India, Burma, Thailand and Ceylon in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society. The scenes of Ceylon, with which most of the audience were unfamiliar, were especially appreciated. (June 8.)

Indian films recently produced by the new Documentary Film Unit, established by the Government of India, were loaned to the Society by courtesy of the High Commissioner and shown at the British Council Film Theatre. The titles were: *Jaipur*,

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SOCIETY

Rajasthan Series I; *Home of the Kodavas*; *Indian Minorities*; *Indian Art through the Ages*; *Saga in Stone*; *Shantiniketan*. (December 5.)

LITERATURE

Miss Sukesu Budiardjo spoke on "Modern Indonesian Literature" at the Indonesian Embassy, which was kindly lent for the occasion by his Excellency the Ambassador and Madame Subandrio. The lecture was followed by a recital of selections from the poems, with musical accompaniment. Mr. Egerton Sykes presided. (November 1.)

Begum Shaistra Suhrawady Ikramullah, a delegate to the P.E.N. International Conference in Edinburgh, gave a talk on "The Form and Content of Urdu Poetry" at the Islamic Cultural Centre. Mr. S. M. Burke, Counsellor to the Pakistan High Commissioner, was in the chair. (September 18.)

On his return from his cultural mission on behalf of the Society to India, Pakistan and Ceylon, reference to which was made in the last Report, Sir Eugen Millington-Drake spoke on the cultural activities of those countries at the Over-Seas League before a large audience. Sir Eugen also gave a talk on his impressions at the Society's Summer School at Cambridge. (April 11.)

Following on his tour for the Society in the cold weather, Sir Eugen Millington-Drake also gave a reading of Indian poems written in English (1850-1950) in the Ceylon Hall, Royal Empire Society. (November 10.)

EXHIBITIONS

To mark the publication under the auspices of the Society of the *Art and Architecture of Bikaner*, a special exhibition of paintings from Bikaner, generously lent by H.H. the Maharaja, was arranged by the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. (June 9.)

Members of the Society paid a group visit to the exhibition of Indian Textiles at India House, when Mr. Coelho acted as guide and Mr. John Irwin gave a talk. (April 4.)

The Bhikku U. Thittila opened an

exhibition at the Imperial Institute of paintings by Madame Helen Castori Jourde, including her six-panelled screen depicting the Life of the Buddha. Mr. Ram Gopal kindly lent fabrics from his collection to decorate the walls of the gallery. (June 9.)

Mrs. Cumi Dallas, wife of the President of the Bombay Art Society and daughter of Mr. Rustom Siodia, believed to be the first Indian artist to study at the Royal Academy School, gave an exhibition of paintings and mural designs at the Asian Institute Gallery. She paints in the traditional Indian style. The exhibition was opened by Lord Listowel. (November 27.)

In the same gallery Mr. Chintamani Kar showed examples of his sculpture (in terra cotta), ceramics and drawings. The exhibition was opened by Sir Eugen Millington-Drake. (October 30.)

MUHAMMAD IQBAL

The High Commissioner for Pakistan presided at the celebration (jointly with the Majlis-i-Iqbal) of Iqbal Day, when a tribute to the poet's work was paid by the Iran Ambassador, and Professor A. J. Arberry spoke on "Iqbal's Doctrine of the Individual and the Community." Extracts were recited from the *Tulip of Sinai* (published by the Society), and Mr. Masood Farzad read a dedication of a Ghazal Sequence in Persian in memory of the poet. (April 21.)

MUSIC

With Sir Richard Winstedt in the chair, Dr. H. G. Farmer, of Edinburgh University, gave a lecture on "The Arabian Musical Influence" at a joint meeting with the Royal Asiatic Society. (March 9.)

At the conclusion of a successful tour in this country Mr. Hubert Rajapakse gave a recital of songs chiefly from Ceylon and India. He was accompanied on the piano by Miss Malinee Jayasinghe-Pieris. The concert was held at the Over-Seas League. (June 13.)

Mr. Surya Sena, accompanied by his wife, Nelun Devi (by arrangement with the Imperial Concert Agency), gave a recital

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SOCIETY

at the Imperial Institute. His programme included Sinhalese folk and traditional songs (collected and arranged by him), and Indian songs by H. Chattopadhyaya in Hindi and Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali. (April 25.)

DANCING

Ram Gopal, the outstanding exponent of the Indian dance, gave a two weeks season at the Adelphi Theatre under the patronage of the Society. He was assisted by his Indian dancers and musicians. The programme included Kathak, Kathakali, Kandyen and Assamese dances, and the performances were very well attended. The Council desire to express their warm thanks to him for associating the season with the Society. (October 16.)

Raden Mas Utomo and his Indonesian dancers, accompanied by a Gamelan orchestra, were at St. George's Hall on January 28, when there was an appreciative audience. (Joint function with *Eastern World*.)

Raden Ayu Jodjana gave a lecture on "The Dances and Drama of Java," with demonstrations by her husband, Raden Mas Jodjana. Baroness Ravensdale presided. (October 31.)

ORIENTAL MUSIC CIRCLE

The Circle held several study meetings, and has decided, as the result of the experience gained in the past, to arrange the lectures in future with a view to comparing the various Asian systems of music rather than treating them as separate phenomena.

SUMMER SCHOOL IN CAMBRIDGE

The Summer School at Pembroke College, Cambridge, was much enjoyed, and its proceedings have been fully reported in ART AND LETTERS. A gratifying feature of the School was the number of overseas students who attended as guests of the Society. In July next a further Summer School will be held at Wadham College, Oxford, where all participants can be accommodated.

VISITS TO INDIA, PAKISTAN AND CEYLON

Mr. Henry S. Polak, Mr. H. C. Taussig, Mrs. Hilda Seligman and Miss Victoria Kingsley kindly undertook, on the occasion of their respective visits to the East during the winter of 1950-51, to make the Society's work more widely known, and on their return they offered to the Council helpful suggestions for co-operation with kindred bodies with which they came in contact.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

The High Commissioner for Ceylon in London, the Nepalese Ambassador and the Earl of Scarbrough were elected Vice-Presidents of the Society.

COUNCIL

Mr. Hermon Ould and Mr. Guy Wint were co-opted to the Council.

PUBLICATIONS

Dr. Mortimer Wheeler's outline of the archæological history of Pakistan, and Dr. H. Goetz's study of the art and architecture of Bikaner, were issued during the year, and were made available to members on special terms of which due advantage was taken.

The Council is grateful to the Pakistan Government for honouring the Society by entrusting it with the publication of the first-mentioned volume. They also record with gratitude the generosity of the late Maharaja of Bikaner in enabling the Society to bring out so fine a work on the art and architecture of his State.

Professor Kramrisch's book on *The Arts and Crafts of Travancore* is now ready, and will be issued to members on payment of ten shillings per copy.

Two issues of ART AND LETTERS were published during the year.

Dr. le May's Tagore lecture in 1949 on India's contribution to the culture of South-east Asia, after publication in the Journal, was issued as a pamphlet. It has created considerable interest, especially in India. Mr. Butler presented a copy to the Prime Minister of India while he was in London, and the Government of India ordered 600 copies for distribution.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1950.

EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	INCOME.		£	s.	d.
<i>To Publications:</i>								<i>By Annual Subscriptions</i>				
INDIAN ART AND LETTERS	..	..	..	..	326	0	7	<i>Post Office Savings Bank Interest</i>	..	..	..	439 13 11
"India's Contribution to the Culture of South-eastern Asia"	..	..	..	..	28	19	10	<i>Dividends on Investment (Net)</i>	..	..	..	28 1 0
"5,000 Years of Pakistan"	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	<i>Increase in Valuation of Stock of Books at December 31, 1949</i>	..	..	..	8 16 0
<i>Less:</i> Contribution from the Government of Pakistan	..	600	0	0				<i>Sales of Publications</i>	..	..	..	228 14 0
"The Art and Architecture of Bikaner"	..	2,469	15	0	323	0	5	<i>Special Contributions:</i>	..	..	..	332 4 1
<i>Less:</i> Contribution from the Government of Bikaner	..	2,275	0	0				Government of Hyderabad	..	..	..	250 0 0
General Printing	..	..	..	..	194	15	0	H.H. The Maharaja Gackwar of Baroda	..	..	..	69 13 9
					1	4	0	Treasury Grant	..	..	..	200 0 0
								<i>Excess of Expenditure over Income for the Year</i>	..	..	..	519 13 9
<i>Lecture, Meeting and Exhibition Expenses:</i>							873 19 10					27 10 1
H.H. The Maharaja Gackwar of Baroda's Lecture Fund	..	69	13	9								
General Lectures	..	64	2	9								
Exhibitions	..	..	..	..	133	16	6					
Receptions	..	..	..	..	178	4	4					
					17	5	1					
<i>Less Receipts</i>	..	..	..	..	329	5	11					
					136	8	8					
<i>Summer School Expenses</i>	..	..	..	..	52	2	8					
<i>Less Receipts</i>	..	..	..	..	25	3	0					
<i>Administration Expenses:</i>												
Secretary's Honorarium	..	..	..	..	100	0	0					
Clerical Assistance	..	..	..	..	20	0	0					
Rent of Office	..	..	..	..	50	0	0					
Lighting and Heating	..	..	..	..	1	2	11					
Insurance	..	..	..	..	2	8	11					
Telephone	..	..	..	..	5	13	10					
Secretary's Expenses	..	..	..	..	39	7	0					
Printing and Stationery	..	..	..	..	65	12	2					
General Postage	..	..	..	..	150	9	0					
Advertising	..	..	..	..				

Audit Fee	7	14	0
Travelling Expenses ..	6	10	5
Sundry Expenses	23	16	1
Income Tax	13	1	0
Corporation Duty	4	10	9
	490	16	1
	<u>£1,584 12 10</u>		

£1,584 12 10

BALANCE SHEET

AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1950.

LIABILITIES.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>Accumulated Fund:</i>										
Balance as at January 1, 1950 ..	..	1,017	19	9						
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for the Year .. .. .	..	27	10	1						
		990	9	8				378	11	0
Add Life Subscriptions .. .. .	..	1,292	1	3				650	5	7
					2,282	10	11	1,028	16	7
<i>Current Liabilities and Reserves:</i>								873	1	8
Sundry Creditors (Printing of Publications, etc.) .. .. .	..	837	2	7						
Subscriptions paid in Advance .. .. .	..	75	16	9				547	11	6
Mysore Account .. .. .	..	100	0	0				11	8	3
Sales of the "Red Tortoise" .. .. .	..	44	19	4				14	5	0
					1,057	18	8	100	0	0
								88	12	7
								761	17	4
					<u>£3,340 9 7</u>			<u>£3,340 9 7</u>		
ASSETS.										
<i>Current Assets:</i>										
Stocks of Books .. .. .	..								
Investments:										
£400 Commonwealth of Australia 4 per cent. Registered Stock, 1955-70 (the Market Value at December 31, 1950, was £404) .. .. .	..								
Post Office Savings Bank .. .. .	..								
<i>Payments in Advance and Sundry Debtors</i>										
<i>Cash at Bank:</i>										
Current Accounts .. .. .	..								
Exhibition Account .. .. .	..								
Modern Indian Art for British Galleries Account .. .. .	..								
Mysore Account .. .. .	..								
Hospitality Account .. .. .	..								

Chairman, R. A. BUTLER, M.P. { Members of
Hon. Treasurer, FRANK H. BROWN. { the Council.

AUDITORS' REPORT TO MEMBERS

We report that we have examined the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account, with the books of the Society and vouchers relating thereto, and have verified the Cash Balances. We are of opinion that the above Balance Sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society according to the best of our information, and explanations given to us, and as shown by the books of the Society.

RUSHTON, OSBORNE AND CO.,
Chartered Accountants.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE Forty-Second Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, May 31, 1951, at the Rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, the President of the Society, the Right Hon. the EARL OF INCHCAPE, in the chair.

After the Hon. Secretary (Mr. F. Richter) had read the notice convening the meeting, the PRESIDENT said: Before proceeding with the formal business of the meeting I would like to welcome our distinguished visitors and to thank you for electing me President of your Society. To succeed two such distinguished Presidents as you have had is not easy, but I will do my best, and do what I can, to forward the interests and objects of the Society through my associations and contacts in India, Pakistan and Ceylon. I have recently returned from a visit to those great Commonwealth countries, and I am convinced that this Society can play an increasingly active and important part in the maintenance and development of our relations with them.

The Society has had an interesting and successful year, as you will see from the report. I only wish to refer to one or two special events. After the first night of the Ram Gopal performance Mr. Krishna Menon, the High Commissioner for India, entertained me with the French Ambassador and other representatives of the Society at India House.

The Right Hon. D. S. Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon, has agreed to become an Honorary Vice-President of the Society. Mr. R. A. Butler, our Chairman, is unable to be present today, and I will call upon Sir William Barton to move the adoption of the report.

ANNUAL REPORT

SIR WILLIAM BARTON: Most of you have read H. A. L. Fisher's *History of Europe*, and you may remember a reference he made to Omar Khayyam, in which he said that if

the crusaders had come into contact with the best that Asia had to offer, the poetry of Omar Khayyam would have passed into the intellectual currency of Europe long before the days of Edward Fitzgerald. It is regrettable that our crusading knights and yeomen were much more concerned with slaying Turks and setting up fiefs in the Holy Land than with studying culture. How different the world might be today if Europe and Asia centuries ago had come together in the cultural field. There might have been no world war; we might have banished poverty.

In the last century a good deal has been done to remedy the neglects of the past, and this Society of ours in the last forty years had played a creditable role in trying to bring East and West together. One could wish that the people in this country took more interest in the achievements of the mind of Asia, that knowledge of Asia and its culture were more widespread: that would greatly help towards a better understanding of the immense international problems in which both we and Asia are at the moment involved. I think that the Society will continue to justify its existence by endeavouring to improve the relations between the two continents. I think you will agree that it has kept up the standard already set. It has shown vitality and enterprise: we have, for example, moved into the cultural field recently of Indonesia, and we are very gratified that a representative of the new and struggling political entity Viet Nam has approached us and made friendly contact.

As you know, the Society is interested in sponsoring the publication of learned works on the East. An example worth mentioning is the very excellent study of the archaeological history of Pakistan by Dr. Mortimer Wheeler; another is the book on the miniatures and pictures owned by the Maharaja of Bikaner.

I think you will all agree that we owe an

immense debt to our Hon. Secretary, Mr. Richter, and our Hon. Treasurer, Sir Frank Brown. I think one might describe them as the twin pillars on which the Society rests. We have been extremely fortunate in having had for years the leadership of that brilliant scholar, statesman and proconsul Lord Zetland. We are extremely pleased to have as his successor Lord Inchcape, young, accomplished, and very keen to help the Society. He has the added advantage of belonging to a family with very honourable and long associations with India, and I think we can look to him to help keep up a high standard of efficiency in future years.

I now propose the adoption of the Annual Report.

MR. EGERTON SYKES seconded, and the resolution was carried.

ANNUAL ACCOUNTS

SIR FRANK BROWN (Hon. Treasurer), in presenting the accounts, said: At the last annual meeting I was able to submit accounts showing a balance of £69 on the working of the year. On this occasion there is a small deficit of £27. This arises partly from increased expenditure on printing. Two issues of *Art and Letters* were paid for, as compared with one in the previous year. On the printing of books last year we paid for Mr. Langley's study of Sri Aurobindo £218. This year we have paid £194 for the Bikaner book and £322 for Dr. Mortimer Wheeler's work on 5,000 years of archæology. Our share in the cost of production of these books came to no less than £517. We expect to recoup ourselves by the sale of the books, but £517 is in marked contrast to the £218 we spent in the previous year.

We shall need to be careful in future as to the commitments we make in regard to such volumes, since the cost of everything, especially of printing and publication, is going up.

The Cambridge Summer School was well attended and I am glad that the bookings for the Summer School at Oxford are going well, and we shall take the opportunity of

inviting a few students from India, Pakistan and Ceylon to be present as our guests.

They were very welcome at Cambridge last year, where they made valuable contributions to the discussions following the reading of the papers and the more informal gatherings.

We do our best to keep down the administration expenses, but, like everything else, they tend to rise. There is an increased expenditure with which we are confronted in that the lease of the office at 3, Victoria Street is lapsing this year, and it will only be renewed at a largely increased rent.

On the income side we have received again this year a grant of £250 from the Hyderabad Government and £200 from H.M. Treasury. There has also been a small advance in the receipts from membership subscriptions, but we need a considerable increase in the number of members if we are to maintain the high standards of which Sir William Barton has spoken. Our investment income is small and we cannot be too sure of the renewal of grants. There is a great need to increase our membership, and I hope those who are present today will encourage their friends to join the Society, in view of the small subscription and the remarkable advantages which membership offers. We have had many most interesting and enjoyable functions. I would like to mention our gratitude to our kind hosts on several of these occasions.

With this appeal for your help in the way of securing further members I beg to move the adoption of the accounts.

SIR WILLIAM BARTON seconded the proposal. He said that finance was a constant anxiety; what was wanted was a considerable increase in membership, a process which went on very slowly, almost imperceptibly. The Princes of India in the old days were patrons of the arts, science and culture of their country: they gave the Society a good deal of encouragement and support. The independent Government of India had adopted a policy of absorbing and assimilating the States, and the rulers had been

ANNUAL MEETING

succeeded in most cases by Congress Governments much too occupied with the anxieties of administration and other matters to be able to take much interest in the doings of Societies like ourselves. When things settled down prospects might improve.

The Hyderabad Government had continued its grant of £250, thanks largely to the good offices of the Chief Minister, Mr. Vellodi, who was for some time in this country as Deputy High Commissioner. The Society was very grateful for the contribution received from the Commonwealth Relations Office. There was one other quarter from which help might be expected—British business. Economists had estimated that some £400 million sterling of British capital was invested in India; thousands of Britons were working in British firms in India and Pakistan. It was true that British firms were recruiting Pakistanis and Indians for higher responsibilities in their businesses, but there was a heavy recruitment of young Britons every year. Firms were realizing that they must send out men of character, education and good breeding, and that they must learn something of the language, culture and social life of the people before they went out. The School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London was providing opportunities for training young British people going out to India, and the Society felt that it also could help, and that young men going to India would benefit by going to the Summer School. Corporate help from British firms was needed, and he hoped that Lord Inchcape would use his great influence to help in that way.

The annual accounts were duly adopted.

At this point in the proceedings the PRESIDENT welcomed the High Commissioner for Ceylon and his wife to the meeting.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

The PRESIDENT moved that the High Commissioner for Ceylon, Mr. Wijeyeratne, and Sir Oliver Harvey, British Ambassador in Paris, be elected Vice-Presidents of the Society.

Mr. H. POLAK seconded, and this was carried.

OFFICERS

The PRESIDENT next moved that Sir Frank Brown be re-elected Hon. Treasurer and Mr. Frederick Richter be re-elected Hon. Secretary. Several members seconded, and the proposition was carried by applause.

COUNCIL

Dr. BHATTACHARYA moved that the following be re-elected members of Council:

Dr. Baké, The Hon. Mrs. Betjemen, Mr. Gerrard, Mr. Hargreaves, Sir Frederick James, Mr. Pendarves Lory, Mr. Milne, Mr. Munsiff, Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, M.P., Mrs. Hilda Seligman, Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson.

Mr. EGERTON SYKES seconded, and this was carried unanimously.

AUDITORS

The PRESIDENT proposed that Messrs. Rushton Osborne and Co., Chartered Accountants, be re-elected the Society's auditors for the ensuing year.

Mr. MUNSIFF seconded, and this also was carried.

This concluded the formal part of the proceedings.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Art of India and Pakistan. A Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1947-8. Edited by Sir Leigh Ashton. (Faber and Faber.) 4½ guineas.

The Exhibition of Indian Art held at Burlington House in the winter of 1947-8 was in many respects a unique event. Not the least remarkable feature about it was the manner in which the practical difficulties which had hitherto stood in the way were surmounted. Hundreds of sculptures, many of them weighing over a ton, were transported from India to England without mishap, in spite of the deficiency of transport in the post-war years. The result was, as Sir Leigh Ashton remarks in his preface, that the general public were enabled, for what was probably the first and last time, to see a representative collection of masterpieces from all over the Indian continent collected under a single roof, while scholars could study at first hand objects hitherto only available to them in photographs. Few of those who visited the exhibition will forget the awe-inspiring effect of the stately array of sculptures which confronted them on entering the hall.

The letterpress is the work of recognized authorities on the various branches of the subject. Professor K. de B. Codrington contributes a brief but illuminating essay on Indian sculpture. Few things are more singular than the revolution in taste which has taken place in the western attitude towards Indian art. In the eighteenth century it found a small but select circle of admirers in people of the type of Warren Hastings and "Hindu" Stuart, and, in Europe, Rembrandt and Sir Joshua Reynolds. This was succeeded by the Victorian era, Ruskin's diatribes and the notorious attack by Sir George Birdwood which led to the foundation of the India Society in 1908. The result was a violent swing of the pendulum in the opposite direction, and Indian sculpture suffered

severely from the uncritical exaltation of its so-called spiritual qualities by writers of the type of Havell and Coomaraswamy. Professor Codrington quotes with approval Mr. Eric Newton's statement that "only when the spectator shares the cultural background and understands the artist's state of mind can a work of art strike with full effect," and wisely confines himself to supplying the reader with the requisite historical material for the purpose, without undue emphasis on the æsthetic as opposed to the technical side of the subject.

Mr. Basil Gray was handicapped by the impossibility of exhibiting reproductions of the Ajanta and other frescoes, which are essential for a real appreciation of Indian painting. He was forced, therefore, to confine himself to pictures in the more restricted sense of the term, beginning with the Jain illuminated manuscripts of the eleventh century A.D., and ending his survey at 1820, when the indigenous art of the country was already on the decline. Within these limits he writes learnedly and clearly upon the various schools which arose at the end of the Moghul period in the courts of northern India, the Punjab and the Deccan, with special reference to the lessons to be learned from the mass of fresh material gathered together for the first time at the exhibition. That there is still much to be done in this direction is evident from the admirable work of Dr. Hermann Goetz on the art and architecture of Bikaner, which gives an indication of the treasures still awaiting discovery in the palaces of the Indian princes.

An agreeable tailpiece to this section of the work is Mr. Graham Reynolds' note on the British artists in India. These, though they produced nothing comparable in interest or importance to the great achievements of Indian sculpture, have, apart from their documentary value, a charm peculiarly their own. The miniatures of Tilly Kettle and John Smart, the conversation pieces of Zoffany and the paintings of Indian scenery

by the Daniells are singularly attractive as works of art, and formed to many visitors a pleasing contrast to the exotic splendours of the rest of the exhibition. It is a pity, however, that no mention was made in the introduction of the work of contemporary schools, though a room was devoted to them. Abanindranath Tagore and his brothers, and his pupils Asit Kumar Haldar and Nandalal Bose, carried on not unworthily the Indian classical tradition. They won the approval of no less a critic than William Rothenstein, and deserve at least a passing mention, as, indeed do Jaimini Roy, Amrita Shergil and George Keyt. Indian pictorial art is not a museum piece, but very much alive today.

The remaining subjects, bronzes and the applied arts, are admirably dealt with by Mr. Irwin of the India Museum. Casting in bronze by the *cire perdue* process is as old as the Indus civilization. As Mr. Irwin points out, it was employed in Gandhara and reached its climax in the Gupta period; one of the most notable pieces in the exhibition was the Sultanganj Buddha of the fifth century A.D. To a somewhat different category belong the magnificent Saivite bronzes from Southern India, which appropriately had a room to themselves. These masterpieces were the work of highly specialized craftsmen, and were designed for the great temples of the Pallava and Chola kings, in which they found an appropriate setting. Of the applied arts, the most interesting were the textiles, of which the exhibition had a wide range, from the dainty Benares *kincohs*, Dacca muslins and Gujarati *saris*, to Moghul court dresses and carpets. It was a pity that for technical reasons it was impossible to reproduce the superb Jaipur carpets which formed the background to the Asokan bull-capital at the entrance. The exhibition contained some amazing examples of the jewellers' art, from the jade ornaments of the Moghul period to the inlaid swords presented to Edward VII when he visited India as Prince of Wales and lent by her Majesty Queen Mary. The Appendix contains, *inter alia*, an indispensable glossary of

Indian terms, so sadly missing in the original catalogue.

This volume is an important contribution to the study of Indian art in all its aspects, and is at the same time a lasting memorial of a great event and a worthy companion to Dr. Upham Pope's work on the Persian exhibition. Both the contributors and the publishers deserve the gratitude of students for the admirable manner in which they have executed their task.

H. G. R.

Les Monuments du Groupe d'Angkor. By Maurice Glaize, Conservateur. 2nd Edition. (Saigon: Albert Portail.)

(Reviewed by DR. REGINALD LE MAY)

This new edition of *The Monuments of the Angkor Group* is very welcome, to one here in England at least, since it includes all the new discoveries made during the war period, and brings our knowledge of this vast mass of architecture and sculpture up to date.

The first twenty pages are mainly historical: then follow ten pages on the different religions found in ancient Khmer-land, and finally forty pages are devoted to a general survey of the monuments of Angkor, their structure and symbolism, their sculpture and ornamentation, their chronology and the work done upon them by the French School of the Far East. Thereafter, each monument, beginning with the Great Temple of Angkor, is treated separately in turn, and when I state that these monuments reach a total of fifty-five, it is not surprising that more than two hundred pages are needed to describe them.

For those who are not conversant with the Angkor group, it will be of interest to state that the Great Temple of Angkor stands by itself surrounded by moat-basins, about a mile away from the city of Angkor Thom. Between them are five monuments of varying size, the most important being Phnom Bakheng, which was the centre of the original capital city built about A.D. 890.

In the city itself, if we include the imposing entrance-gates, there are fifteen monuments to be seen, of which the Bayon Temple in the centre is far and away the most important.

Outside the city there are now two circuits specially made for the tourist, first, "The Little Circuit," which brings twelve monuments within visiting distance, the chief temples being Ta Keo, Ta Prohm and Banteai Kdei; and, secondly, "The Great Circuit," which embraces a much larger area and enables one to visit a further ten monuments, including Pre Rup, Mebon Oriental, Neak Pean and Prah Khan.

Outside the main group of Angkor are twelve more monuments, from ten to fifteen miles away, of which Banteai Srei and the Roluos group are the most important and should on no account be missed, provided one has the time at one's disposal.

There are no less than thirty drawings, plans and maps, and the illustrations are excellent, amounting to 126 in all. Some of them have been specially chosen to show the effect of the Anastylose method adopted by the French School to restore and reconstruct the monuments.

The French School has certainly carried out an extremely well-executed programme of work at Angkor during the past forty years, in the face of many dangers and difficulties, and is to be congratulated on the success which it has achieved. How much remains to be done its members alone know.

Archæology in Ceylon. Report of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon for 1949. By Dr. S. Paranavitana (Ceylon: Government Press.) Rs. 1.10.

This modest pamphlet is a record of steady work in exploration and conservation. For the first time in history the Department was allowed the sum of one million rupees, and this was prudently expended. One of the difficulties encountered was that of preventing the destruction of buried sites during the process of jungle clearing which is being carried on to open up new tracts of land for agricultural development. As Mr. Godakumbura remarks, the bulldozer has no respect for archæological finds. At the other extreme is the illiterate monk who selects an ancient *stupa* for erecting a modern place of worship,

and often does irreparable damage before he is stopped. One of the most encouraging signs was the awakening of the interest of the general public in the past history of their country. An exhibition of relics recovered by the department was held at Anuradhapura and drew a crowd of 35,000 people of all classes, from poor villagers to college students. Similar interest was aroused by an exhibition of the finds at Kotte Baddegana, the medieval capital of the Sinhalese kings, of which, unfortunately, few traces have been left, thanks to the vandalism of the Portuguese invaders and the depredations of modern treasureseekers. A considerable portion of the funds voted to the department was spent on the maintenance of the extensive reserves at places like Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Sigiri, which are frequently visited by pilgrims and tourists, and providing guards to show visitors round and protect the ancient monuments from defacement. In the department of epigraphy, the most important event was the discovery of a copper-plate grant of King Vijayabahu, A.D. 1058-1114, of great historical interest.

H. G. R.

The Visva-Bharati Quarterly, Vol. XVI, Pt. II, 1950, "Technique of Indian Wall-painting through the Ages," by Jibendra Kumar Guha.

The subject of this interesting article is so little understood and yet so vital to the artistic problems of India that it must be considered at some length. The five texts concerned have already been translated, so that no original material arises. Of the first, the Cullavagga of the third to second century B.C., little is said; and the second, from the Vrhatsamhita of the sixth century A.D., is merely mentioned, as both were discussed in the *Quarterly* of 1943 (May-July) by the same writer. Of the remaining three the Visnudharmottaram of the seventh century is the fullest and most interesting, although the Abhilasitartha Cintamani of the twelfth century gives a good receipt for the making of gesso and of size, which the author calls "Vajralepa," giving

no English equivalent. Exact translation helps one to sort the useful from the unnecessary ingredients of these old texts, which, like the fifteenth century "Book of Art" of Cenino Cennini, become useful only when combined with the notes of practising painters who can elucidate the often vague directions given. E.g., Mr. Guha's "white earth"—is it Kaoline (china clay) or chalk, or is it lime? And his "white substance growing on the Nilgiri hills and as bright as the moon"—does it mean "found," or actually growing? I do not remember such a substance there. To painters the large numbers of various whites recommended in old Indian texts appear excessive, two or three being enough for wall painters elsewhere.

Words like Mudga, Mung, Sāra and Vaitike all need translation in such receipts. In view of the vast responsibility devolving on the Archaeological Department of India in the conservation of her magnificent frescoes, I should like to suggest that three samples, executed by practising painters according to the directions given in these texts, including of course the grounds, and exactly labelled on the back of the various stones, with the procedure adopted, be kept at the Central Asian Museum in Delhi for the interest of all chemists in charge of fresco preservation.

Even such scientific and conscientious chemical analyses as those which Dr. Parmasivan has made of so many Indian frescoes needs an experimental proof of this kind. These samples could easily be made at Santiniketan, where so much research has been done in this matter.

The main problem is at the moment to reproduce exactly the method used by the Chola painters at Tanjore, which enabled vast areas to be painted on eggshell-thin lime laid directly on to granite and polished after painting. Dr. Parmasivan's analysis shows no glue even in the black outlines, and he therefore concludes that the work, vast though it be and showing no joins, was executed *a fresco*.

Experiments I have made painting in fresco on paper-thin lime on a damp stone have satisfactorily bound colours. I used for

the trial some excellent lime slaked for thirty years with very little fine sand, but I do not polish my frescoes, so that an exact reproduction of the Chola method has yet to be made by an Indian craftsman. After seeing the small sketches in niches round the Kailassantha temple at Kanchi, on the pillar at Sittannavassal and the ceilings at Elora, I am convinced that these were executed on wet plaster *a fresco*, which confirms Dr. Parmasivan's chemistry, and many of the effects in Caves I and II Ajanta I have exactly reproduced in fresco.

With regard to the outlines discussed in Mr. Guha's article, it is a most convenient practice in the technique of fresco to draw in red earth on to the penultimate coat of plaster the outline design, then to cover it with a fine coat of lime through which the lines show, only as much as can be painted in one day being covered, and traces of this practice are to be seen at Ajanta, which would be incomprehensible were the paintings done on the kind of gesso ground recommended in the Abhilasitartha Cintamani; so that since the Vajralepa, or boiled buffalo hide, is not, according to Mr. Guha, mentioned in the early texts, except as size for gilding, it may not have been used in wall plaster until after the thirteenth century.

One omission in the lists of colours used is curious. There is no mention of green earth, which is found in all the crannies round Ajanta and was largely used in the frescoes there. The mixture of black and yellow would give a very dark green, but no mention is made of blue over yellow or *vice versa*, nor is any malachite or copper green named, so that the seventh-century Visnudharmottaram does not guide us in the seventh-century Ajanta caves, and must only refer to non-Buddhist work, although much Brahmanical lore percolates into the latter Ajanta paintings, and it would be odd if no green were allowed. What an excellent list of qualities, however, is given in the Visnudharmottaram—"Proper position, exact proportion, good spacing, grace, articulation, resemblance, decrease and increase and life-movement"! The most crucial of these being, to the wall painter,

"good spacing." This attribute of great design, which prevents overcrowding, is one of the first to be lost in periods of decline, and I find it outstandingly present in the Andhra paintings at Ajanta and in the Pallava frescoes; the later sutras and paintings lay too little stress on it, and, as Mr. Guha says, the Silparatna is more concerned with auspicious subject than with good design.

May I in conclusion thank the author for his contribution to a subject of great interest, and say that I shall at once try to see his article on "References to Wall-painting in the early Buddhist Literature," which I missed in the 1943 *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*.

ANGELA LATHAM.

Treasures of Indian Miniatures in the Bikaner Palace Collection. Introduction and Notes by Basil Gray. (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer.)

This publication covers some of the same ground as the more comprehensive *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State* by Dr. H. Goetz—published recently, but already out of print. The present work contains good reproductions in colour of ten of the most interesting of the Bikaner paintings, which amount to several thousands, a selection of which have been shown in London. The plates are very varied, and are supplemented with an admirable Introduction and notes to each plate by Mr. Basil Gray. Dr. Goetz deserves our gratitude for revealing these paintings, previously unknown. The writer of this review once spent a year in that wonderful desert State without suspecting their existence! Mr. Gray agrees in the main with Dr. Goetz's views, and brings out with taste and clarity the traits of the different types of miniatures. These are not all masterpieces, but they are all fascinating in various ways.

Our knowledge of Indian painting has been greatly extended in recent years, largely through the number of hitherto unknown types of painting brought together at Burlington House in 1947-48. Different schools have become more easily distinguishable. The interest of the Bikaner paintings, how-

ever, does not altogether rest on their revealing any very clearly marked local school. There are, it is true, local characteristics in some, mainly of a relatively late period, but they are of an only slightly modified provincial Mughal style. These were probably commissioned by Rajah Anūp Singh (1669-98), a ruler distinguished both in war and peace, and the main founder, it would seem, of the collection. An equestrian portrait of him is included in this book. The whole, or nearly the whole, is a testimony to his enthusiastic discrimination.

The paintings in the *Rasikapriya* series have dates, with the names of the painters on the reverse, as have other paintings, and if (as there seems no reason to doubt) these inscriptions are genuine it looks as if there existed for over a hundred years and all through the eighteenth century a painting establishment of some kind of which the artists were Muhammedans—probably descendants of Mughal Court employees introduced to the State by Anūp Singh, who was a general in the imperial army.

Far the most interesting of the paintings, however, are of a very different character and do not originate from Bikaner at all, but from the Deccan. Anūp Singh was governor of Southern Bijapur for a time, and may have collected, while there, the remarkable series of *Ragmala* paintings, then a hundred or more years old, some of which attracted considerable attention when shown at Burlington House, from their emotional power and bold, unusual colouring. Two of these are here reproduced, as is the no less remarkable, and technically more accomplished, portrait of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur with attendants, of the late sixteenth century—a curiously compelling and impressive composition of great dignity and splendour—a notable example of a fascinating branch of Indian or, more accurately, Indo-Persian art, of which not many examples survive. Mr. Gray suggests ingeniously that the traces of modelling in some of the faces may point to some influence from the Portuguese settlement at Goa.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

Homage to Ananda Coomaraswamy. A Garland of Tributes. Edited by S. Durai Raja Singham. Kuala Lumpur. Rs. 10.

This *Festschrift* was presented to the late Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, August 22, 1947. It is from the pens of admirers, mostly Indian, Ceylonese and American, and suffers to some extent from the uncritical spirit of adulation in which it is written. Coomaraswamy was one of the small body of art critics, including Rothenstein and Havell, who rescued Indian art from the undeserved neglect into which it had fallen, and there is no doubt about his success as interpreter of the East to the West. But, like many pioneers, he carried his enthusiasms too far, and found in his subjects spiritual depths which existed mainly in the writer's imagination. Like Yeats and other contemporaries, he dabbled in a number of pursuits, from Indian philosophy to medieval European mysticism, but it is doubtful whether he went very deeply into any of them. His most lasting contribution lay in his studies of the various schools of Rajput painting, a subject in which he was a genuine pioneer. He was a master of style, and his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* is a classic of its kind. He turned the Indian section of the Boston Museum of Fine Art into a treasure-house of beautiful objects, selected with impeccable taste. It is still too early to assign to Coomaraswamy his proper niche : this little tribute to him is spoilt by the poor quality of its illustrations.

H. G. R.

Five Thousand Years of Pakistan. An Archaeological Outline by R. E. M. Wheeler. (Royal India and Pakistan Society.) Pp. 150, 22 plates. 1950. 31s. 6d.

Dr. Mortimer Wheeler has rendered a valuable service in summarizing the archaeological and architectural history of the Pakistan territories. The title of the book may seem to some to savour of journalistic opportunism. Is it right, it may be asked, to lump together the artistic history of regions

hundreds of miles apart, or to confine oneself to mere fragments of great artistic schools just because they happen to fall into fortuitously united political divisions? Such misgivings are aroused by the novelty, not of the method employed, but of the territory to which it is applied. Our county histories, large and small, erudite and popular, are products of the same method. English mediæval architecture itself was but a province of the Gothic school spread over northern and western Europe. Criticism of the method of sectional treatment as here applied can come only from a delayed appreciation of the reality of Pakistan independence. But Pakistan has come to stay and this book is one of the logical consequences of this fact.

The book is naturally divided into two parts, dealing with West and East Pakistan respectively. In Part I the Harappa culture inevitably has pride of place. Dr. Mortimer Wheeler provides a valuable summary both of this culture and of the peasant culture of the western hills which preceded and to some extent overlapped with it. The working out of new pottery sequences and their relation to cultures to the west and north open out great vistas of possible discoveries and chronological adjustments. Most valuable, too, is the description of his own work at Harappa and the light thrown on the problems of dating, of the end of the culture and of its relation to the Aryan invasions. So much solid work has been done that it seems a pity to try to go still further and paint a picture of a gloomy totalitarianism on the evidence of a municipal grain store and a lack of artistic variety. What we know is exciting enough without word pictures of what we cannot as yet know from the existing evidence. One could wish also that a certain tone of asperity could be avoided in dealing with previous workers in this field. Mistakes they may have made, but without their tenacity and devotion through long years of apathy and comparative neglect archaeological activity might very well have ceased altogether, to our own incalculable loss.

Unity of treatment inevitably ceases with the end of the Buddhist period. It is nevertheless

less valuable to have the various architectural schools of West Pakistan placed side by side and to realize the varied influences which in turn affected this region of storm and stress.

The book is excellently printed and produced and is admirably supplied with plates and diagrams. No selection can please

everyone, because so much must be omitted. But can the illustration of Lahore buildings be complete without Wazir Khan's mosque? The value of the book for reference is enhanced by the list of monuments at the end.

PERCIVAL SPEAR.

THE SIKH FAITH AND PRACTICE

By KHUSHWANT SINGH

followed by the author's translation of the Sikh Prayer

IN the life of every nation there comes a time when accepted values begin to be questioned. This is usually occasioned by a challenge from another set of values at variance with those formerly accepted. The conflict may result in compromise and the emergence of a new code of living incorporating principles common to both systems. Sometimes the new code finds adherents who break away from their original loyalties to form a new community bound by allegiance to a new way of life. The Sikhs are an example of the emergence of a community with a communal consciousness fashioned out of new social norms.

For several centuries Indians accepted Hinduism as something ordained and immutable. From 780 A.D. began Muslim invasions from the north. The invaders' religion and way of life were the antithesis of whatever Hinduism stood for. Their religion was a simple set of do's and don'ts, most of them with direct bearing on matters of everyday life. A large part of the Koran consisted of rules on what a man may or may not eat and drink, how many wives he may marry, how to treat them and divorce them. The faith itself was brief and simple—that there was one God and Mohammed was his Prophet. The Koran was the word of God and what it said was law unto mankind. The Koran insisted on the unity of God in opposition to Hindu pantheism; it deified the iconoclast in a country of idol-worshippers; it stood for the equality of men in a

country ridden with caste distinctions; it sanctioned pleasures of the flesh and palate in a country which preached the ascetic ideal.

For seven centuries Islam and Hinduism battled for supremacy. There were periods when Islam, with characteristic impatience, argued sword in hand. Hinduism with characteristic resilience withstood persecution and took the edge off the Islamic sword. By the fifteenth century India had many million Muslims—but by then Muslims were observing caste distinctions, visiting Hindu temples, and generally accepting Hindu customs and conventions. Above all, they accepted the principle of religious tolerance. On the other side, the Hindus themselves recognized the superiority of the concept of the indivisibility of the Godhead, of the evils of caste and other unwholesome social customs. The stage was set for the emergence of a school of thought propagating a fusion of faiths based on principles common to Islam and Hinduism. This was the school of Bhagta philosophy.

Like the religious reformation in Europe, the Bhagta movement in India was basically a protest against religious dogma, ritual and intolerance. The propounders of Bhagta philosophy—Ramananda, Gorakhnath, Chaitanya, Kabir, Tulsi Das, Vallabh and Namdev—taught that personal ethics was the kernel of religion; that the form and place of worship were of little consequence; that basically Hinduism and Islam had the same

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values, only the nomenclature was different. They evolved a form of religious poetry with a vocabulary which borrowed liberally from the sacred texts of both Hindus and Muslims. It had a spontaneity which appealed to the masses. All that the movement lacked was personal leadership and guidance. This was provided by Guru Nanak (1469-1539), the founder of the Sikh faith.

Guru Nanak, like the other Bhagta philosophers, was more concerned with spreading religious tolerance than with founding a new community. His teachings, however, fired the imagination of the Punjab peasantry, and even during his lifetime a large number of followers gathered round him. At first they were merely known as his disciples (in Sanskrit "Shishh"). Some time later these disciples became a homogeneous group whose faith was exclusively the teachings of Nanak. The Shishh became the "Sikh" (corruption of the Sanskrit word).

Guru Nanak was content to be a teacher. He laid no claims to divinity or to kinship with God. He did not invest his writings with the garb of prophecy nor his word with the sanctity of a "message." His teaching was a crusade against cant and humbug in religion and his life was patterned by what he taught. In addition, what he said was eminently well said, as his poems are the finest in the Punjabi language. What he did was eminently well done, because his life was an example of his faith.

He ignored religious and caste distinctions and took as his associates a Muslim musician and a low-caste Hindu. He ridiculed such Hindu religious practices as gave importance to bathing in "sacred" rivers, wearing "sacred" threads, and making offerings to dead ancestors. He personally went to these places of pilgrimage and demonstrated to worshippers their utter absurdity. Likewise he went on pilgrimage to Muslim shrines and reprimanded priests who made a trade of religion and transgressed the injunctions of the Koran. His success in efforts to bring Hindus and Muslims together was a personal one. He was acclaimed by both communities, and on his death they clamoured for his body

—the Muslims wanted to bury him, the Hindus to cremate him. Even today he is regarded in the Punjab as a symbol of harmony between Hindus and Muslims. A popular couplet describes him:

Guru Nanak the King of Fakirs,
To the Hindu a Guru, to the
Muslim a Pir.

In fifty years of travel and teaching Guru Nanak had attracted a following which could at best be described as a group dissenting from both Hinduism and Islam. It was left to his successors to mould this group into a community with its own language and literature, religious beliefs and institutions, traditions and conventions.

Guru Nanak was followed by nine other Gurus. Succession was determined on the basis of finding a teacher most fitted to safeguard and develop the spiritual legacy left by Nanak. Hence for two centuries there was remarkable continuity in the functions of leadership. These years saw the consummation of the religious aspect of Sikhism. They also saw nascent Hindu nationalism grow to political power and pave the way to the setting up of a Sikh State. Of the ten Gurus, the second, fourth, fifth, sixth and tenth were chiefly responsible for measures which fostered communal consciousness and welded the Sikhs into an independent community.

On the Hindu New Year's day in 1699, the tenth, Guru Gobind Singh, assembled his followers and initiated five, known as the Punj Piyaras, into a new fraternity which he named the Khalsa, or "the pure." Of these five, one was a Brahmin, one a Kshatrya, and three belonged to the lower castes. They were made to drink out of the same bowl and given new names with the suffix "Singh" (lion) attached to them. They swore to observe the "Five K's"—namely, to wear their hair and beard unshorn (*kesh*); to carry a comb in the hair (*kungha*); to wear a pair of shorts (*kuchha*); to wear a steel bangle on the right wrist (*kara*); and to carry a sword (*kirpan*). The Khalsa were also enjoined to observe four rules of conduct (*rahat*): not to cut the hair; abstain from

smoking tobacco and consuming alcoholic drinks; not to eat kosher meat; and refrain from carnal intercourse with Muslims. Ever since that day every Sikh youth when he comes of age is initiated into the Khalsa by the baptism (*pahul*) of the sword and the suffix "Singh" is attached to his name. Thereafter he has no caste save one, the fraternity of the Khalsa.

The reason which prompted Guru Gobind Singh to introduce forms and symbols has never been adequately explained. Neither he nor any of his contemporaries refer to the subject in their writings. Some of them are, however, intelligible in their historical background.

Guru Gobind Singh completed the religious facet of Sikhism. He turned an innocuous band of pacifists into armed crusaders. Those who did not accept his innovations of forms and symbols remained just Sikhs, usually described as Sahaj Dharis or "the easy-going"; those who did become the Khalsa. Guru Gobind Singh lost all his four sons in the struggle against the Muslim rulers and declared the succession of Gurus at an end. The Sikhs were to look to the Adi Granth for spiritual guidance, which was henceforth to be the symbolic representation of the ten Gurus. Ceremonies and customs distinct from those of the Hindus were made current. Thus the Sikhs became a new community with an independent entity.

THE SIKH RELIGION

By legislative enactment a Sikh has been defined as "one who believes in the ten Gurus and the Granth Sahib." This definition is not exhaustive. There are people who call themselves Sikhs who do not believe in all the ten Gurus. There are others who believe that the line of Gurus continued after the tenth and follow the precepts of a living Guru. Similarly, some Sikhs challenge the authenticity of certain passages of the Granth Sahib, while others insist on including extraneous writings in it. Besides these, there are numerous sub-sects distinguished by

allegiance to one or other Guru or claiming that the real Guru had been overlooked in deciding the succession. But despite these discrepant factors, it can be safely asserted that the belief in the ten Gurus and the authorized version of the Granth Sahib is the common basic factor of the Sikh community, and it covers the vast majority of them. The only practical sectional division of the Sikh community is into the orthodox Khalsa and the clean-shaven Sahaj Dhari.

CONCEPTION OF GOD

The Sikh religion, as enunciated in the scriptures, is a wholesome mixture of Islamic doctrines and Hindu mystic philosophy. It inculcates belief in the unity of God and equates God with truth. The preamble to the morning prayer *Jupji*, which is recited as an introduction to all religious ceremonial and is known as the Mool Mantra, the basic belief, states:

There is one God.
He is the supreme truth.
He, the creator,
Is without fear and without hate.
He, the omnipresent,
Pervades the universe.
He is not born,
Nor does He die to be reborn again.

Before Time itself
There was truth.
When Time began to run its course
He was the truth.
Even now, He is the truth.
Evermore shall truth persist.

(NANAK.)

The tenth Guru, Gobind Singh, ventured farther into philosophic speculation in describing God as *akalpurukh* (timeless):

Time is the only God,
The primal and the final,
The creator and the destroyer.
How can words describe him ?

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God has no form or substance. He is *nirunkar* (formless). Although He is beyond human comprehension, by righteous living one can invoke His grace.

In the first verse of the morning prayer Guru Nanak said:

Not by thought alone
Can he be known,
Tho' one think a hundred thousand
times.
Not in solemn silence,
Nor in deep meditation.
Though fasting yields an abundance of
virtue,
It cannot appease the hunger for truth.
No ! by none of these
Nor by a hundred thousand other
devices
Can God be reached.
How then shall truth be known ?
How the veil of false illusion torn ?
O Nanak: thus runneth the writ divine.
The righteous path let it be thine.

The Sikh religion expressly forbids the worship of idols and emblems as Gods in no uncertain terms:

They that worship strange Gods
Cursed shall be their lives, cursed their
habitations,
Poison shall be their food—each morsel,
Poisoned too shall be their garments.
In life for them is misery
In life hereafter, hell.

(AMAR DAS—third Guru.)

Some worship stones and on their heads
they bear them,
Some the phallus—strung in necklaces
wear its emblem.
Some behold their God in the South,
some to the West bow their head,
Some worship images, others busy
praying to the dead.
The world is thus bound in false ritual
And God's secret is still unread.

(GURU GOBIND.)

Guru Nanak, while attending the evening service at a Hindu temple where a salver full of small oil lamps and incense was being waved in front of the idol before it was laid to rest for the night, composed this verse:

The firmament is thy salver
The Sun and Moon thy lamps,
The galaxy of stars
Are as pearls scattered.
The woods of sandal are thy incense
The forests thy flowers
But what worship is this,
O Destroyer of Fear ?

THE GURU OR THE TEACHER

God being an abstraction, godliness is conceived more as an attribute than a concrete something which can be acquired by a person or a thing. The way of acquiring godliness or salvation is to obey the will of God. The means of ascertaining God's will are, as in other theological systems, unspecified and subject to human speculation. They are largely rules of moral conduct which are the basis of human society. Sikh religion advocates association with men of religion for guidance. Hence the importance of the Guru or the teacher and the institution of discipleship.

Sikhs do not worship human beings as reincarnations of God. The Gurus themselves repeated that they were like other human beings and were on no account to be worshipped. Guru Nanak constantly referred to himself as the slave and servant of God. Guru Gobind Singh, who was the author of most of the Sikh practice and ritual, was conscious of the danger of having divinity imposed on him by his followers. He explained his mission in life:

For though my thoughts were lost in
prayer
At the feet of Almighty God,
I was ordained to establish a sect and lay
down its rules.

But whosoever regards me as Lord
Shall be damned and destroyed.
I am—and of this let there be no doubt—
I am but the slave of God, as other men
are,
A beholder of the wonders of creation.

In another passage he refuted claims to
divinity and reincarnation made by others—

God has no friends nor enemies.
He heeds no hallelujahs nor cares about
curses.
Being the first and timeless
How could he manifest himself through
those
Who are born and die ?

Godliness being the aim of human endeavour, the lives and teachings of the Gurus are looked upon as aids towards its attainment.

THE SCRIPTURE—GRANTH SAHIB

The compilation of the Granth Sahib was largely the work of the fifth Guru Arjun and his disciple Bhai Gurdas. This compilation is known as the Adi Granth, the first scripture, to distinguish it from the Dasam Granth, the tenth scripture of the tenth Guru Gobind Singh, which was compiled by his disciple Bhai Mani Singh.

By the ordinance of Guru Gobind Singh himself the Adi Granth alone was given the status of the Holy Scripture as symbolic representation of all the ten Gurus. His own Dasam Granth is read with reverence, but does not form part of ritual except at the ceremony of baptism.

The Adi Granth or the Granth Sahib contains the writings of the first five Gurus, the ninth Guru Teg Bahadur and a couplet by Guru Gobind Singh. A large part of the book, however, consists of the writings of Hindu and Muslim saints of the time, chiefly those of the Muslim Kabir. The compositions of bards who accompanied the different Gurus are also incorporated in it.

The language used by the Sikh Gurus was Punjabi of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Other writings are in old Hindi, Persian, Gujarati, Maharathi and other dialects of Northern India. The whole work is set to measures of classical Indian music with the number of the author Guru appearing first. All the Gurus used the literary *nom-de-plume* "Nanak" at the end of each verse.

All the words appearing in each line are joined together, causing considerable confusion in the interpretation of the text. It is frequently impossible to tell whether there is one word or two words put together. Despite this the Granth is a unique historical document. It is perhaps the only kind of writing of a scriptural nature which has preserved without embellishment or misconstruction the original writings of the religious leaders. It has saved the literary works of other poets of the time from the vagaries of human memory.

The Granth Sahib is the central object of Sikh worship and ritual. In all temples copies of the Granth are placed under a canopy. The book itself is draped in cloth—usually richly embroidered. It is opened with prayer and ceremonial each morning and closed in the evening. Worshippers appear before it barefooted and with their heads covered. They make obeisance by rubbing their foreheads to the ground before it. Offerings of money or food are placed on the cloth draping the book.

A ceremony of non-stop reading of the Granth Sahib by relays of worshippers, known as the Akhand Path, takes two days and nights and is performed on important religious festivals and private functions. A simpler ceremony is the Saptah Path, a cover-to-cover reading in seven days. This is frequently undertaken in homes with private chapels where assistance from outside is not easily available.

Sikh children are given a name beginning with the first letter appearing on the page at which the Granth may open. Sikh youth are baptized with recitation of prayers in front of the Granth. Sikh couples are married

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to the singing of hymns from the Granth while they walk round it four times. On death hymns are read aloud in the dying person's ears, and on cremation they are chanted as the flames consume the body. Despite all this, the Granth Sahib is not like the idol in a Hindu temple or the cross in a Catholic church. It is the source and not the object of prayer or worship. Sikhs revere it because it contains the teachings of their Gurus. It is more a book of divine wisdom than the word of God.

PILGRIMAGE

Sikhs do not believe in "sacred" rivers and mountains nor pray to stone images. "To worship an image, to make a pilgrimage to a shrine, to remain in a desert, and yet have the mind impure, is all in vain. To be saved, worship only the truth" (Nanak).

Two incidents in Guru Nanak's life illustrate his attitude towards pilgrimage. One morning he went to the river Ganges, where devout Hindus were bathing and throwing water towards the rising sun as an offering to their dead ancestors. Nanak faced the other way and threw water in the opposite direction. When questioned, he said: "I am watering my fields in the Punjab. If you can send water to the dead in heaven, it should be easier for one to send it to another place on the earth."

On another occasion he happened to fall asleep with his feet towards a Muslim shrine. An outraged priest woke him up and drew his attention to the fact. Nanak simply said: "If you think I show disrespect by having my feet towards God's house, you turn them in some other direction where God does not dwell."

Although there are no places or occasions marked out for pilgrimage, Sikhs assemble on the birthdays of the Gurus, at their places of birth. The martyrdom of the fifth Guru Arjun used to be celebrated at mammoth gatherings of Sikhs at Lahore, and that of Guru Teg Bahadur at Delhi. The more important shrines, the birthplace of Guru

Nanak, the site of Guru Arjun's execution at Lahore, the temples at Amritsar and Taran Taran, the birthplace of Guru Gobind Singh at Patna and the site of his death in Hyderabad, Deccan, are visited by Sikhs at all possible times.

DEATH AND LIFE HEREAFTER

Sikhism accepts the Hindu theory of Karma and life hereafter. It holds that there is rebirth after death, and that the form of the recreated being is determined by his actions in life; that a person may escape the vicious circle of death and rebirth by righteous living, and thus achieve salvation.

He who made the night and day,
The days of the week and the seasons,
He who made the breezes blow, the
waters run,
The fires and the lower regions,
Made the earth—the temple of law.

He who made creatures of diverse kinds
With a multitude of names,
Made this the law—
By thought and deed be judged forsooth,
For God is true and dispenseth truth.
There the elect his court adorn,
And God himself their actions honours.
There are sorted deeds that were done
and bore fruit
From those that to action could never
ripen.

This, O Nanak, shall hereafter happen.
(NANAK.)

SOCIETY

Sikh tradition elevates society to the status of the lawgiver and the judge. The last Guru devised means by which the will of society could be ascertained and enforced. A resolution (*mata*) passed by elected representatives of the congregation (*sangat*) became a *gurumata* (the order of the Guru). A *gurumata* could even dispense with forms and conventions initiated by the Guru, themselves.

PRIESTHOOD

The Sikhs do not have priests. All adults, irrespective of status or sex, are competent to perform religious ceremonial. A class of professional scripture readers (*granthis*) and musicians (*ragis*) has come into existence, but they function mainly in big cities, where the size of the congregation renders some sort of institutionalism necessary.

CASTE SYSTEM

The Sikh religion does not recognize the caste system. Guru Nanak chose a Muslim musician who would normally be beyond the pale of the caste system as a companion. His writings abound with passages describing as ungodly the conduct of those who condemn God's creatures to untouchability.

There are ignoble amongst the noblest
And pure amongst the despised.
The former shalt thou avoid,
And be the dust under the foot of the
other.

The third Guru Angad said:

The Hindus say there are four castes
But they are all of one seed.
'Tis like clay of which pots are made
In diverse shapes and forms—yet the
clay is the same,
So is the body of man made of five
elements.
How can one amongst them be high and
another low?

Guru Gobind's first five disciples included three who were "untouchables." With determined deliberation he said that he would mix the four castes into one—like the four constituents of *pan* (betel leaf), which when chewed produce just one colour.

PRAYER

A feature of the Sikh religion which is particularly striking is its emphasis on prayer. The form of prayer is usually the repetition of the name of God and in chanting hymns of

praise. This was popularized by the Bhagti cult, and Sikhism is its chief exponent today. The Sikh scriptures abound with exhortation to repeat "the true name" as a purification from sin and impious thoughts.

As hands or feet besmirched with slime,
Water washes white;
As garments dark with grime
Rinsed with soap are made light;
So when sin soils the soul
Prayer alone shall make it whole.

Words do not the saint or sinner make,
Action alone is written in the book of
fate,
What we sow that alone we take;
O Nanak, be saved or for ever trans-
migrate. (NANAK.)

At the same time there are positive injunctions against austere asceticism involving renunciation of society, celibacy and penance. All the Gurus led normal family lives and discharged secular functions as householders as well as the spiritual mentors of their people. The concept of righteous living is meaningless except in the context of the community. There is constant reference to being in the world but not worldly. The ideal is to achieve saintliness as a member of society, to have a spiritual existence with the necessary material requisites—"raj men jog kamayo."

Religion lieth not in the patched coat
the Yogi wears,
Not in the staff he bears,
Nor in the ashes on his body.
Religion lieth not in rings in the ears,
Not in a shaven head,
Nor in the blowing of the conch-shell.
If thou must the path of true religion see
Amongst the world's impurities, be of
impurities free. (NANAK.)

PACIFISM AND USE OF FORCE

Sikh pacifism in religion and the Sikh militarism present a contradiction which can

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only be explained by a reference to history. A strictly pacifist faith is difficult to reconcile with a spartan military tradition, except through the formula that when the faith itself is threatened with extinction, force may be used to preserve it. This indeed was Guru Gobind Singh's explanation of the steps he took. In a Persian couplet he said:

Chu kar uz hama har heel te dar guzusht
Halal ust burdan ba shamsher dust.

(When all other means have failed
It is righteous to draw the sword.)

It is possible that if the state of affairs in the Punjab had returned to a peaceful normality the Sikh sword might have been

sheathed and the gospel of Nanak, which preached peace and humility, have become symbolic of the Sikh faith. As it was, the period following Guru Gobind Singh was about the most turbulent known to Indian history. The decaying Moghul empire took to making scapegoats of minorities to explain away its failures. There were pogroms of unprecedented savagery in which the small band of Sikhs was almost exterminated. Coincident with persecution within the country came new Muslim invasions from the north, which destroyed any people or institution they deemed un-Islamic. In such circumstances martial traditions were forged which became an integral part of Sikh life and gave the Sikhs the reputation of being a fighting people.

EXPLANATORY NOTE ON THE SIKH MORNING PRAYER

Jupji—the morning prayer—is a composition of Guru Nanak and is the first chapter of the Granth Sahib, the Sikh scripture. It was apparently not all written at one time, and the length of its verses, their metre and the thought content, frequently varies. The verses are in the nature of meditations dealing with the fundamentals of the Sikh faith—namely, the conception of God, the place of the religious preceptor, the importance of prayer, of belief in the triumph of right over wrong, of transmigration, life hereafter and salvation.

Jupji is meant to be recited before sunrise. Unlike the rest of the Granth Sahib, it has not been set to music and is never sung.

The language of Jupji is the Punjabi of the fifteenth century and is extremely

difficult to translate. I have made use of the English translations of Dr. Trumpp, M. A. Macauliffe, Dorothy Field, J. C. Archer, C. Caleb, and Professor Teja Singh, and the commentaries of Bhai Vir Singh in Gurmukhi. Unfortunately there is hardly one verse on the meaning of which any of these writers are in agreement. My translation is largely based on the commentaries of Bhai Vir Singh.

I, who have never written a poem, have ventured to translate into verse a prayer which is perhaps the most beautiful in the language. I am conscious of my failure to convey in full measure its meaning or its melodious poetry. I only hope it will encourage someone more competent than I to set himself the task.

TRANSLATION OF SIKH PRAYER

THERE is One God.
 He is the supreme truth.
 He, The Creator,
 Is without fear and without hate.
 He, The Omnipresent,
 Pervades the universe.
 He is not born,
 Nor does He die to be born again.
 By His grace shalt thou worship Him.

*Before time itself
 There was truth.
 When time began to run its course
 He was the truth.
 Even now, He is the truth
 And
 Evermore shall truth prevail.¹*

I

Not by thought alone
 Can He be known,
 Though one think
 A hundred thousand times;
 Not in solemn silence
 Nor in deep meditation.
 Though fasting yields an abundance of
 virtue
 It cannot appease the hunger for truth.
 No, by none of these,
 Nor by a hundred thousand other devices,
 Can God be reached.
 How then shall the Truth be known?
 How the veil of false illusion torn?
 O Nanak, thus runneth the writ divine,
 The righteous path—let it be thine.

2

By Him are all forms created,
 By Him infused with life and blessed,
 By Him are some to excellence elated,
 Others born lowly and depressed.
 By His writ some have pleasure, others pain;
 By His grace some are saved,
 Others doomed to die, re-live, and die again.

¹ These lines, which are not in verse, are known as the Mool Mantra—the basic belief.

His will encompasseth all, there be none
 beside.
 O Nanak, He who knows, hath no ego and
 no pride.

3

Who has the power to praise His might ?
 Who has the measure of His bounty ?
 Of His portents who has the sight ?
 Who can value His virtue, His deeds, His
 charity ?
 Who has the knowledge of His wisdom ?
 Of His deep, impenetrable thought ?

How worship Him who creates life,
 Then destroys,
 And having destroyed doth re-create?
 How worship Him who appeareth far
 Yet is ever present and proximate?

There is no end to His description,
 Though the speakers and their speeches be
 legion.

He the Giver ever giveth,
 We who receive grow weary,
 On His bounty humanity liveth
 From primal age to posterity.

4

God is the Master, God is truth,
 His name spellleth love divine,
 His creatures ever cry: "O give, O give,"
 He the bounteous doth never decline.
 What then in offering shall we bring
 That we may see his court above ?
 What then shall we say in speech
 That hearing may evoke His love ?
 In the ambrosial hours of fragrant dawn
 On truth and greatness ponder in medita-
 tion,
 Though action determine how thou be born,
 Through grace alone comes salvation.

O Nanak, this need we know alone,
 That God and Truth are two in one.

5

He cannot be proved, for He is uncreated;
He is without matter, self-existent.
They that serve shall honoured be,
O Nanak, the Lord is most excellent.

Praise the Lord, hear them that do Him
praise,
In your hearts His name be graven,
Sorrows from your soul erase
And make your hearts a joyous haven.

The Guru's word has the sage's wisdom,
The Guru's word is full of learning,
For though it be the Guru's word
God Himself speaks therein.

Thus run the words of the Guru:
"God is the destroyer, preserver and creator,
God is the Goddess too.
Words to describe are hard to find,
I would venture if I knew."

This alone my teacher taught,
There is but one Lord of all creation,
Forget Him not.

6

If it please the Lord
In holy waters would I bathe,
If it please him not,
Worthless is that pilgrimage.

This is the law of all creation,
That nothing's gained save by action.
Thy mind, wherein buried lie
Precious stones, jewels, gems,
Shall opened be if thou but try
And hearken to the Guru's word.

This the Guru my teacher taught,
There is but one Lord of all creation,
Forget Him not.

7

Were life's span extended to the four ages
And ten times more,
Were one known over the nine continents
Ever in humanity's fore,

Were one to achieve greatness
With a name noised over the earth,
If one found not favour with the Lord
What would it all be worth?
Among the worms be as vermin,
By sinners be accused of sin.
O Nanak, the Lord fills the vicious with
virtue,
The virtuous maketh more true.
Knowest thou of any other
Who in turn could the Lord thus favour?

8

By hearing the word
Men achieve wisdom, saintliness, courage
and contentment.
By hearing the word
Men learn of the earth, the power that
supports it, and the firmament.
By hearing the word
Men learn of the upper and nether
regions, of islands and continents.
By hearing the word
Men conquer the fear of death and the
elements.

O Nanak, the word hath such magic for the
worshippers,
Those that hear, death do not fear,
Their sorrows end and sins disappear.

9

By hearing the word
Mortals are to godliness raised.
By hearing the word
The foul-mouthed are filled with pious
praise.
By hearing the word
Are revealed the secrets of the body and
of nature.
By hearing the word
Is acquired the wisdom of all the scriptures.

O Nanak, the word hath such magic for the
worshippers,
Those that hear, death do not fear,
Their sorrows end and sins disappear.

10

By hearing the word
One learns of truth, contentment, and is
wise.

By hearing the word
The need for pilgrimages does not arise.

By hearing the word
The student achieves scholastic distinction.

By hearing the word
The mind is easily led to meditation.

O Nanak, the word hath such magic for the
worshippers,
Those that hear, death do not fear,
Their sorrows end and sins disappear.

11

By hearing the word
One sounds the depths of virtue's sea.

By hearing the word
One acquires learning, holiness and
royalty.

By hearing the word
The blind see and their paths are visible.

By hearing the word
The fathomless becomes fordable.

O Nanak, the word hath such magic for the
worshippers,
Those that hear, death do not fear,
Their sorrows end and sins disappear.

12

The believer's bliss one cannot describe,
He who endeavours regrets in the end,
There is no paper, pen, nor any scribe
Who can the believer's state comprehend.

The name of the Lord is immaculate.
He who would know must have faith.

13

The believer hath wisdom and under-
standing;
The believer hath knowledge of all the
spheres;
The believer shall not stumble in ignorance,
Nor of death have any fears.

The name of the Lord is immaculate,
He who would know must have faith.

14

The believer's way is of obstructions free;
The believer is honoured in the presence
sublime;

The believer's path is not lost in futility,
For faith hath taught him law divine.

The name of the Lord is immaculate,
He who would know must have faith.

15

The believer reaches the gate of salvation;
His kith and kin he also saves.
The believer beckons the congregation,
Their souls are saved from transmigration.

The name of the Lord is immaculate,
He who would know must have faith.

16

Thus are chosen the leaders of men,
Thus honoured in God's estimation;
Though they grace the courts of kings,
Their minds are fixed in holy meditation.
Their words are weighed with reason,
They know that God's works are legion.

Law which like the fabled bull supports the
earth
Is of compassion born;
Though it bind the world in harmony,
Its strands are thin and worn.
He who the truth would learn
Must know of the bull and the load it bore,
For there are worlds besides our own
And beyond them many more.
Who is it that bears these burdens?
What power bears him that beareth them?

Of creatures of diverse kinds and colours
The ever-flowing pen hath made record.
Can anyone write what it hath writ?
Or say how great a task was it?
How describe His beauty and His might?
His bounty how estimate?
How speak of Him who with one word
Did the whole universe create,
And made a thousand rivers flow therein?

What might have I to praise Thy might?
I have not power to give it praise.
Whatever be Thy wish, I say Amen.
Mayst Thou endure, O formless One.

17

There is no count of those who pray,
Nor of those who Thee adore;
There is no count of those who worship,
Nor of those who by penance set store.
There is no count of those who read the holy
books aloud,
Nor of those who think of the world's sorrows
and lament,
There is no count of sages immersed in
thought and reason,
Nor of those who love humanity and are
benevolent.
There is no count of warriors who match
their strength with steel,
Nor of those who contemplate in peace and
are silent.

What might have I to praise Thy might?
I have not power to give it praise.
Whatever be Thy wish, I say Amen.
Mayst Thou endure, O formless One.

18

There is no count of fools who will not see,
Nor of thieves who live by fraud,
There is no count of despots practising
tyranny,
Nor of those whose hands are soiled with
blood.
There is no count of those who sin and go
free,
Nor of liars caught in the web of falsehood,
There is no count of the polluted who live on
filth,
Nor of the evil-tongued weighed down with
calumny.
Of such degradation, O Nanak, also think.

What might have I to praise Thy might ?
I have not power to give it praise.
Whatever be Thy wish, I say Amen.
Mayst Thou endure, O formless One.

19

Though there is no count of Thy names and
habitations,
Nor of Thy regions uncomprehended,
Yet many there have been with reason per-
verted
Who to Thy knowledge have pretended.

Though by words alone we give Thee name
and praise,
And by words reason, worship, and Thy
virtue compute;
Though by words alone we write and speak
And by words our ties with Thee constitute;
The word does not its Creator bind,
What Thou ordainest we receive.
Thy creations magnify Thee,
Thy name in all places find.

What might have I to praise Thy might ?
I have not power to give it praise.
Whatever be Thy wish, I say Amen.
Mayst Thou endure, O formless One.

20

As hands or feet besmirched with slime,
Water washes white;
As garments dark with grime
Rinsed with soap are made light;
So when sin soils the soul
Prayer alone shall make it whole.

Words do not the saint or sinner make,
Action alone is written in the book of fate,
What we sow that alone we take;
O Nanak, be saved or for ever transmigrate.

21

Pilgrimage, austerity, mercy, almsgiving and
charity
Bring merit, be it as little as the mustard
seed;
But he who hears, believes and cherishes the
word,
An inner pilgrimage and cleansing is his
meed.

All virtue is Thine, for I have none,
Virtue follows a good act done.

Blessed Thou the Creator, the prayer, the
 primal
 Truth and beauty and longing eternal.
 What was the time, what day of the week,
 What the month, what season of the year,
 When Thou didst create the earthly sphere?
 The Pandit knows it not, nor is it writ in his
 Puran;
 The Qadi knows it not, though he read and
 copy the Koran.
 The Yogi knows not the date nor the day of
 the week,
 He knows not the month or even the season.
 Only Thou who made it all can speak,
 For knowledge is Thine alone.

How then shall I know Thee, how describe,
 praise and name?
 O Nanak, many there be who pretend to
 know, each bolder in his claim.
 All I say is: "Great is the Lord, great His
 name;
 What He ordains comes to be,"
 O Nanak, he who sayeth more shall hereafter
 regret his stupidity.

22

Numerous worlds there be in regions beyond
 the skies and below,
 But the research-weary scholars say, we do
 not know.
 The Hindu and the Muslim books are full of
 theories; the answer is but one.
 If it could be writ, it would have been, but
 the writer thereof be none.
 O Nanak, say but this, the Lord is great, in
 His knowledge He is alone.

23

Worshippers who praise the Lord know not
 His greatness,
 As rivers and rivulets that flow into the sea
 know not its vastness.
 Mighty kings with domains vaster than the
 ocean,
 With wealth piled high in a mountainous
 heap,
 Are less than the little ant
 That the Lord's name in its heart doth keep.

24

Infinite His goodness, and the ways of
 exaltation;
 Infinite His creation and His benefaction;
 Infinite the sights and sounds, infinite His
 great design,
 Infinite its execution, infinite without confine.

Many there be that cried in pain to seek the
 end of all ending.
 Their cries were all in vain, for the end is
 past understanding.

It is the end of which no one knoweth,
 The more one says the more it groweth.
 The Lord is of great eminence, exalted is
 His name.
 He who would know His height, must in
 stature be the same.

He alone can His own greatness measure.
 O Nanak, what He gives we must treasure.

25

Of His bounty one cannot write too much,
 He the great Giver desires not even a mustard
 seed;
 Even the mighty beg at His door, and others
 such
 Whose numbers can never be conceived.
 There be those who receive but are self-
 indulgent,
 Others who get but have no gratitude.
 There be the foolish whose bellies are never
 filled,
 Others whom hunger's pain doth ever
 torment.
 All this comes to pass as Thou hast willed.
 Thy will alone breaks mortal bonds,
 No one else hath influence.
 The fool who argues otherwise
 Shall be smitten into silence.
 The Lord knows our needs, and gives,
 Few there be that count their blessings,
 He who is granted gratitude and power to
 praise,
 O Nanak, is the king of kings.

26

His goodness cannot be priced or traded,
Nor His worshippers valued, nor their store;
Priceless too are dealers in the market sacred
With love and peace evermore.
Perfect His law and administration,
Precise His weights and measures;
Boundless His bounty and His omens,
Infinite mercy in His orders.
How priceless Thou art one cannot state,
Those who spoke are mute in adoration,
The readers of the scriptures expatiate,
Having read, are lost in learned conversation.
The great gods Brahma and Indra do Thee
proclaim,
So do Krishna and his maidens fair;
Siva and the Saivites do Thee name;
The Buddhas Thou made, Thy name bear.
The demons and the demi-gods
Men, brave men, seers and the sainted,
Having discoursed and discussed
Have spoken and departed.
If Thou didst many more create
Not one could any more state,
For Thou art as great as is Thy pleasure,
O Nanak, Thou alone knowest Thy measure.
He who claims to know blasphemeth
And is the worst among the stupidest.

27

SODAR

(*Te Deum*)

Where is the gate, where the mansion
From whence Thou watchest all creation,
Where sounds of musical melodies,
Of instruments playing, minstrels singing,
Are joined in divine harmony?
There the breezes blow, the waters run and
the fires burn,
There Dharmaraj, the king of death, sits in
state;
There the recording angels Chitra and Gupta
write
For Dharmaraj to read and adjudicate.
There are the gods Ishwara and Brahma,
The goddess Devi of divine grace;
There Indra sits on his celestial throne
And lesser gods, each in his place.

There ascetics in deep meditation,
Holy men in contemplation,
The pure of heart, the continent,
Men of peace and contentment,
Doughty warriors never yielding,
Thy praises are ever singing.
From age to age, the pundit and the sage
Do Thee exalt in their study and their
writing.
There maidens fair, heart bewitching,
Who inhabit the earth, the upper and the
lower regions,
Thy praises chant in their singing.
By the gems that Thou didst create,
In the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage,
Is Thy name exalted.
By warriors strong and brave in strife,
By the sources four from whence came life,
Of egg or womb, of sweat or seed,
Is Thy name magnified.
The regions of the earth, the heavens and the
universe
That Thou didst make and dost sustain,
Sing to Thee and praise Thy name.
Only those Thou lovest and with whom Thou
art pleased
Can give Thee praise and in Thy love be
steeped.
Others too there must be who Thee acclaim,
I have no memory of knowing them
Nor of knowledge, O Nanak, make a claim.
He alone is the master true, Lord of the word,
ever the same,
He Who made creation is, shall be and shall
ever remain;
He Who made things of diverse species,
shapes and hues,
Beholds that His handiwork His greatness
proves.
What He wills He ordains,
To Him no one can an order give,
For He, O Nanak, is the King of Kings,
As He wills so we must live.

28

As a beggar goes a-begging,
Bowl in one hand, staff in the other,
Rings in his ears, in ashes smothered,
So go thou forth in life.

With earrings made of contentment,
With modesty thy begging bowl,
Meditation the fabric of thy garment,
Knowledge of death thy cowl.
Let thy mind be chaste, virginal clean,
Faith the staff on which to lean.¹
Thou shalt then thy fancy humiliate
With mind subdued, the world subjugate.

Hail ! and to thee be salutation.
Thou art primal, Thou art pure,
Without beginning, without termination,
In single form, for ever endure.

29

From the store-house of compassion
Seek knowledge for thy food.
Let thy heart-beat be the call of the conch-
shell
Blown in gratitude.

He is the Lord, His is the will, His the
creation,
He is the master of destiny, of union and
separation.

Hail ! and to thee be salutation.
Thou art primal, thou art pure,
Without beginning, without termination,
In single form, for ever endure.

30

Maya, mythical goddess in wedlock divine,
Bore three gods accepted by all,
The creator of the world, the one who
preserves,
And the one who adjudges its fall.
But it is God alone whose will prevails,
Others but their obedience render.
He sees and directs, but is by them unseen,
That of all is the greatest wonder.

Hail ! and to Thee be salutation.
Thou art primal, thou art pure,
Without beginning, without termination,
In single form, for ever endure.

¹ In the original, the author makes reference to the "Ayece Panth," a religious order now defunct, but apparently held in great estimation in the lifetime of the Guru. Having failed to find anything which would throw light on this sect in any of the translations or commentaries, I have thought fit to make reference to it only in the footnote.

31

He hath His prayer-mat in every region,
In every realm His store.
To human beings He doth apportion
Their share for once and evermore.
The Maker having made doth His own
creation view.
O Nanak, He made truth itself, for He
himself is true.

Hail ! and to thee be salutation.
Thou art primal, Thou art pure,
Without beginning, without termination,
In single form, for ever endure.

32

Were I given a hundred thousand tongues
instead of one,
And the hundred thousand multiplied
twenty-fold,
A hundred thousand times would I say, and
say again,
The Lord of all the worlds is one.
That is the path that leads,
These the steps that mount,
Ascend thus to the Lord's mansion
And with Him be joined in unison.
The sound of the songs of heaven thrills
The like of us who crawl, but desire to fly.
O Nanak, His grace alone it is that fulfils,
The rest mere prattle, and a lie.

33

Ye have no power to speak or in silence
listen,
To grant or give away,
Ye have no power to live or die.
Ye have no power to acquire wealth and
dominion,
To compel the mind to thought or reason,
To escape the world and fly.

He who hath the pride of power, let him try
and see.
O Nanak, before the Lord there is no low
or high degree.

34

He Who made the night and day,
The days of the week and the seasons,
He Who made the breezes blow, the waters
run,
The fires and the lower regions,
Made the earth—the temple of law.

He Who made creatures of diverse kinds
With a multitude of names,
Made this the law—
By thought and deed be judged forsooth,
For God is true and dispenseth truth.
There the elect His court adorn,
And God Himself their actions honours;
There are sorted deeds that were done and
bore fruit
From those that to action could never ripen.
This, O Nanak, shall hereafter happen.

35

In the realm of justice there is law;
In the realm of knowledge there is reason.
Wherefore are the breezes, the waters and
fire,
Gods that preserve and destroy, Krishnas
and Shivas?
Wherefore are created forms, colours, attire,
Gods that create, the many Brahmas?

Here one strives to comprehend,
The golden mount of knowledge ascend,
And learn as did the sage Dhruva.

Wherefore are the thunders and lightning,
The moons and suns,
The world and its regions?

Wherefore are the sages, seers, wise men,
Goddesses, false prophets, demons and demi-
gods,
Wherefore are there jewels in the ocean?

How many forms of life there be,
How many tongues,
How many kings of proud ancestry.

Of these things many strive to know,
Many the slaves of reason.
Many there are, O Nanak, their numbers are
legion.

36

As in the realm of knowledge reason is
triumphant
And yields a myriad joys,
So in the realm of bliss is beauty resplendent.
There are fashioned forms of great loveliness;
Of them it is best to remain silent
Than hazard guesses and then repent.
There too are fashioned consciousness, under-
standing, mind and reason,
The genius of the sage and seer, the power
of humans superhuman.

37

In the realm of action, effort is supreme,
Nothing else prevails.
There dwell doughty warriors brave and
strong,
With hearts full of godliness,
And celestial maidens of great loveliness
Who sing their praise.
They cannot die nor be beguiled,
For God Himself in their hearts resides.
There too are congregations of holy men
Who rejoice, for the Lord in their midst
presides.

In the realm of truth is the Formless One
Who, having created, watches His creation
And graces us with the blessed vision.
There are the lands, the earths and the
spheres
Of whose description there is no limit;
There by a myriad forms are a myriad pur-
poses fulfilled,
What He ordains is in them instilled.
What He beholds, thinks and contemplates,
O Nanak, is too hard to state.

38

If thou must make a gold coin true
Let thy mint these rules pursue.

In the forge of continence
Let the goldsmith be a man of patience,
His tools be made of knowledge,
His anvil made of reason;

With the fear of God the bellows blow,
With prayer and austerity make the fire glow.
Pour the liquid in the mould of love,
Print the name of the Lord thereon,
And cool it in the holy waters.

For thus in the mint of truth the word is
coined,
Thus those who are graced are to work
enjoined.
O Nanak, by His blessing have joy ever-
lasting.

SHLOK

(Epilogue)

*Air, water and earth,
Of these are we made.*

*Air like the Guru's word gives the breath of
life
To the babe born to the great mother earth*

Sired by the waters.

*The day and night our nurses be
That watch us in our infancy.
In their laps we play.*

The world is our playground.

*Our acts right and wrong at Thy court shall come
to judgment,
Some be seated near Thy seat, some ever kept
distant.*

*The toils have ended of those that have worshipped
Thee,*

*O Nanak, their faces are lit with joyful radiance—
many others they set free.*

EARTH AND HER SON

(Translated from Maithilisaran Gupta, by A. G. Shirreff)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Sri Maithilisaran Gupta (born 1886) attained early fame as a nationalist poet by his Bharat Bharati. The present work, Prithiviputra, was published last year. A competent Indian critic

writes, "When I first read this poem, I said, 'This belongs to world poetry.' " That I agree with this judgment is my excuse for attempting a translation.

EARTH

MOTHER EARTH am I, who watch
with pride
The prowess of my progeny;
My lap no longer can provide,
Wide as it is, a playground fair
For one who is in three elements free,—
Free in water and land and air,—
And now is tip-toe poised to spring
Through interplanetary space
From orbit to orbit, visiting
The farthest kinsmen of our race.
Lightnings and vapours are vassals to serve
him;
Fortune makes stable her wheel to preserve
him;
Life's elixir, philosopher's stone,
All that this world can give is his own;

Steeds that are tireless with sinews of steel
Toil for their master with shaft and wheel;
Many inventions he has sought out,
And magic is his beyond all doubt.
God grant his fancies may not stray
To magic of the left-hand way!
Thou who didst fashion him of my dust,
To Thee I commit him; accept my trust!
See where he comes, but whither going
That is what I would fain be knowing.

SON

Mother, my hour is come to start
On a new journey.

EARTH

Ere you depart,
Sit by me, child, while I weave a charm
To guard you from all ghostly harm.

EARTH AND HER SON

This mark I print your brows above,
Emblem of a mother's love,
Will ward off every deadly shape—
Save One from whom is no escape.

SON

Is it Death that you speak of,—death and
decay?
Trust me to deal in my own way
With these and destroy them. You do ill
To treat me as a baby still.

EARTH

So, Earth must renounce a mother's right
Now that in air you take your flight!

SON

What, you are angry? But you miss
My meaning, Mother. It was this,—
You are old, old, old, as old as Time.
A brave new age requires no spell
To guard it against the powers of hell,
Those outworn phantoms of your prime.

EARTH

To powers of hell though you pay no heed,
My ancient spells you yet may need.
You still are a child for all you say,
And your mind is set on toys and play;
Why, even now at a base you stand
To throw that marble you hold in your hand.

SON (*laughing*)

A marble? No, it is something bigger.

EARTH

What is your plaything, then? A ball?

SON

You may call it that, for in compass small
It copies the shape of your own wide figure.

EARTH

What is in it? Say.

SON

I will do as you bid,
And tell you, though it still remains
A secret what your orb contains.
In this ball that I hold is hid
The latest of my discoveries.

EARTH

And what is the need that it supplies?

SON

Why, if you count it as a game,
"King of the Castle" might be its name,
For I shall have victory over all
The world with one bounce of this ball.

EARTH

What idle folly is this you prate?
I still am waiting to be told
What lies hid in that ball you hold.

SON

What lies hid? The fire of Fate!—
A fury of flame that shall devour
Every rebel against my power.
Less fierce than this by a hundred-fold
Are the lava-streams from your craters rolled,
For it is compacted of those rays
With which your vitals were ablaze
For many million years. I see
You shudder at the memory.

EARTH

God save you and save you from sin and
blame!

Since I was cast out by the Sun, my sire,
I dreed my penance and purged my shame
In tears of vapour and torment of fire.
That fire by which I was purified,
Did not, like yours, from malice spring;
For malice it is and senseless pride
That have brought forth this fearful thing.
How will you use it? Answer me.
Which of your kinsmen are to be
The targets for this fell device?

SON

Not kinsmen, foes! They shall be hurled
Like sheep to the shambles, a sacrifice
To grace my conquest of the world.

EARTH

How can you call them foes? They too
Have life from me, no less than you.

SON

They have life from you, yet it is they
Who injure me in every way.
Since the day that you gave me birth
These other children of the earth
Have lain in wait to overpower me,
With tooth and claw to rend and devour me.

I have saved myself by my sapience;
First, I flung stones in self-defence;
Alliance then with fire I made
And fashioned of iron dart and blade;
The fiercest beasts of prey became
My hounds and answered to their name;
The tusk'd Behemoth I bestrode,
Making him docile to my goad;
In poison fangs I found a store
Of healing medicines, and——

EARTH

No more!

You have surely shown yourself to be
The subtlest of my progeny!
But these that you boast to have destroyed,
Or tamed and to your service bound,
Are creatures that crawl upon the ground
Or beasts of the field, of reason void.
You that have reason, how can you plan,
A man, to slay your fellow man?

SON

Can you call them men, those savages,——
Wild men of the woods?

EARTH

You were once as wild,

Ay, wilder than the worst of these.
And still a savage you are, my child.
All that is changed is the outer frame;
Your inner nature is the same.

SON

What comparison can there be
Between barbarians and me?
I am far the abler, and thereby
Can rightly claim supremacy.

EARTH

Yes, you are able, it is true,
But others may be able too,——
Able to shatter and atomize
The invention that you value most.
That you have culture is your boast,
And these your kinsmen you despise
As men of the woods, but, had you seen
The forest dwellers of olden time,
As I beheld them in my prime,
Abandoned would that boast have been.

They lived not for themselves but others:
They thought of all men as their brothers:
They sought not power or wealth: in giving
They found delight, not in receiving.
You differ from them in thought and deed:
The human aims that now are rife
Are the lust of the flesh and the pride of life;
The higher aims of an earlier creed,
Piety here and bliss hereafter,
Are themes today for scornful laughter.

SON

Would you have me go back and begin anew?

EARTH

That neither you nor I can do.
Yet better to couch on the bare ground
Than, where foundations are unsound,
In a high-storeyed house to dwell.

SON

Houses of clay, as you know well,
Are built up slowly, wall by wall;
My uplift, too, has been gradual.

EARTH

Sure, twenty centuries since Christ
For uplift should have well sufficed!

SON

They have sufficed, for am I not
More civilized than Iscariot
A thousand Times?

EARTH

And to what good,
If, with the progress I behold in you,
The Judas vulture-thirst for blood
Is multiplied a million-fold in you?

SON

Say what you will, you soon shall see
That I am the whole world's lord and master.

EARTH

Can I glory in such a victory?
No glory, but terror and disaster
That star portends which bursts and spreads
Its meteor glare above men's heads.

SON

The war that I wage shall end all war.

EARTH AND HER SON

EARTH

How often have I seen of yore
A new war press on an old war's traces!
And those who wage war still lay claim
To wage it for some righteous aim,
Till some fresh aim the first replaces.
The sceptre that you seize will be
An iron rod of tyranny.
No ruler can lead on the right track
Subjects whom terror must control:
And if they follow, their only goal
Will be to stab him in the back.
Many a conqueror have I seen
Before your day, but none has been
As leader revered by the human race.

SON

I shall leave nothing mean or base
In all my realm.

EARTH

But what is due
For extirpation as base and mean
Must still depend on the point of view;
Ordure, though common and unclean,
Is worth preserving when it yields
A richer foison from my fields.
"Base," "mean" are terms I might employ
For you, whose pride is to destroy.
You say you are no more a child;
A child you were, but now I see
In all your thoughts and deeds the wild
Derangement of insanity.

I am sad for this, but yet more sad
To think that your schemes,—sheer wicked-
ness,
Beneath a cloak of cleverness,—
Brand you as rather bad than mad.

SON

Tell me, Mother, what is your will?

EARTH

To see you greater and greater still.
But of my teeming family
Though you are chief, and occupy
The highest order, you must be
Exalted by humility.
You must have the courage to lay aside
All pretensions of false pride:
Your private will you must enrol
In the militia of the whole:
All distinctions you must efface
Of caste and class, of land and race,
And as citizen of the world must be
The servant of humanity:
Not fear but love, not might but right
Must rule your thoughts and deeds aright.
So rise to your full stature, stride
The unimagined heights to reach
With all creation at your side,
Each for all and all for each.
Those powers of mind that were bent upon
Destruction as their baneful aim
Shall vaunt a worthier victory won,
And I be proud that I can claim
To be the mother of such a son.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

I AM engaged upon a study of the life, letters and works of the late Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. To augment my collection of material, I should be grateful if anyone who has letters, pamphlets, articles, tributes, reviews, books or information dealing with him would communicate with me. Letters and MS. will be copied and returned by

registered post; and a catalogue of all sources of information will be published.

I shall be glad to hear of any photographs, paintings, drawings, or other material that should be recorded in the preparation of this work.

S. DURAI RAJA SINGAM,
Abdullah School,
Kuantan, Malaya.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL, OXFORD

A REPORT BY SYLVIA A. MATHESON

MEMBERS of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society who attended last year's summer school at Cambridge must have spread most enthusiastic reports of the proceedings there, for when it came to trying to find accommodation for all those who wanted to attend the Oxford school last July, Mr. Richter had to disappoint a number of applicants.

As it was, more than fifty people spent nearly four days in the peaceful, academic surroundings of Balliol College, including a larger number of students from the three Dominions than in the previous year.

The variety and erudition of the lectures, the perfect sunny weather and the soft inviting greensward of the College lawns, these amply rewarded those who made the journey.

Among the guests of the R.I.P.C.S. were a number of students from the subcontinent, including several future diplomats from Pakistan, students from India and Ceylon, and a young Muslim girl from New Delhi, Miss Jamila Barakat Ullah, who has been studying art in Italy on an exchange scholarship. Observers from the B.B.C. and the British Council also attended the school.

The twelve lectures covered a wide variety of subjects, ranging from the origin of Mughal paintings to sitar and guitar recitals, from the influence of Indian on Chinese art to classical Sanskrit poetry.

The first evening was spent "settling in," with an inaugural dinner in Hall, where members of the summer school by far outnumbered the few undergraduates still resident in the College.

The first lecture was given on the following morning by the Press Attaché to the High Commissioner for Pakistan, Mr. Salman A. Ali, who was accompanied by Begum Salman Ali. Members gathered in the informality of the Junior Common Room with its comfortable armchairs and couches, and heard a

most thought-provoking talk on Pakistani literature, in the course of which Mr. Ali came to the conclusion that the average writer in Pakistan today enjoyed a far greater prestige than that of his predecessors or even that of his older colleagues in their youth.

He stated that the roots of present-day Pakistani literature went back to the time of 1857, when an attempt was made on the part of the defeated Muslim power to regain political authority from the British. It was the failure of the Mutiny that set the Muslims to brooding and led to a silent refusal to co-operate with the British, and thus to stagnate in the political, cultural and economic fields.

It was left to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (who founded Aligarh Muslim University) to show that progress for the Muslims did not lie in "sulking" and non-co-operating. In his books *A Short History of the Saracens* and *The Spirit of Islam* Mr. Justice Amir Ali indicated that there was nothing wrong with Islam as a religion and as an ideology. Among those who influenced the development of Urdu literature on similar lines were Mohammed Hussain Azad, Hali and Maulana Shibli. This movement of Muslim renaissance culminated in the poetry and philosophy of Iqbal, "in whose works the trend of Muslim thought is clearly discernible," Mr. Ali continued. "The early period of Muslim nationalism took the form of political opposition, but this phase was superseded by what might be termed the phase of "Muslim consciousness." What Iqbal emphasized in his philosophy had been stressed by his predecessors through historical literature, literary criticism and biographies of poets. In his interpretation of Islam Iqbal underlined the concept of action; one should not take one's fate lying down, for in Islam there was no such thing as predestination. Any interpretation of Islamic philosophy, there-

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fore, which did not take into account the theory of "action" was incomplete. "That is the background with which we must study the development of modern Pakistani literature," he added.

Mr. Salman Ali went on to point out the early cultural connections with Turkey, Iran and Central Asia. Coming down to recent history, he indicated that the unfortunate events that occurred after partition had made a deep impression on the minds of Pakistani writers and poets. Subsequent achievement in the consolidation of Pakistan had, however, introduced a healthier trend. Mr. Ali emphasized at this point that he was dealing with Urdu literature only; he was not talking of Sindhi and Pushtu, of which he knew nothing, and he would speak of Bengali literature later, using information he had gathered from a Bengali writer.

The speaker then traced the growth of Urdu literature, in which he sensed a deeper realization of fundamental values than was apparent in the field of art. "New techniques are not taboo," he explained, "but old forms are being revived. The ghazal staged a dramatic come-back; rhymed verse, lyrics, songs, quatrains are all being produced at a rate with which blank and free verse have not been able to keep pace."

Mentioning a number of writers and their works by name, Mr. Ali went on to point out that more novels had been written during the last four years than in the previous twenty, while light essays and criticism were also gaining in popularity.

One interesting feature of the new literary movement was the growth of regional and national literary groups and societies all over the country. The widespread use of broadcasting, and the use of amplification systems at mushairas, had created a new class of audience.

One of the most impressive features of the Pakistani literary scene since 1947 had been the way in which younger writers had risen above the depressing circumstances of early partition days, and some of the outstanding literary contributions of this period had been in the form of the long novel, many of them,

together with short stories and poems, being inspired by the vast refugee movement.

Translations of well-known *European* works from English into Urdu were another indication of the wide literary field.

Besides Iqbal's philosophy there were two other problems that were engaging the attention of modern Pakistani critics; one was the shape and values of the literature to come and of the place of tradition in it; the other concerned a rediscovery and revaluation of Pakistani classical literature.

Turning to the question of Bengali literature, Mr. Salman Ali said that Bengal was an area which for a long time had been under Muslim rule. Urdu, as spoken at the time of Muslim rule, had played a large part in the literature and culture of Bengal, but the movement in the twenties and thirties for political independence had led to the dropping of something like 2,500 words indigenous to the country, and traceable to Urdu and Persian, in favour of others derived from Sanskrit and other languages outside the cultural background of Bengal. This had produced a polished, chiselled language of the literati; but alongside this there had grown another literature in a language which the people of the country could understand, finding its shape and balance in songs like those of Jasim-ud-din and his friends. One of the present trends was to bring back the old words so that not only the townsfolk but the peasants too could understand the written word.

That Mr. Ali's very able lecture roused considerable interest was proved by the large number of questions put to him by members of his audience, who wanted to know the influence of folk poetry on modern literature, of the position of Urdu literature in Lucknow and Hyderabad (Deccan), details of the mushairas held not only in Pakistan but on a smaller scale in London, and whether Urdu was displacing Sindhi in Sind itself. To all of these Mr. Salman Ali had ready and enlightening answers, and Sir William Barton summed up, adding that everyone looked forward to seeing Pakistani literature developing on brilliant lines and

that Mr. Ali's lecture had obviously involved great study and research.

Modern Indian Painting

There was just time for members to stroll down to the School of Geography for the next lecture by Mr. W. G. Archer, the poet, who is also the Keeper of the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Mr. Archer's lecture on modern Indian painting was very ably illustrated with lantern-slide reproductions. Taking Abanindranath Tagore as his starting-point, Mr. Archer showed how many important new trends had sprung up between 1896 and 1920, when all the schools of Rajput, Kangra and Jain painting had been discovered. Before that time the only examples of "Indian" art were the Ajanta and Mughal paintings, and so a new awareness of what European painting was, and a new discovery of Indian painting itself, had led to a change from the rather sentimental trend of Abanindranath Tagore's work. Gogonendranath Tagore was representative of this new trend, and although he was not in himself an important artist, his satires and cartoons showed a new and vigorous spirit, and he was the first to avail himself of some of the æsthetic discoveries of modern Western art.

Gogonendranath had taken over only the superficial characteristics, the geometric shape but not the cubist form, and this was apparent in his paintings *Light and Shadow* and *Moonlight*.

There was something volcanic in the creation of Rabindranath Tagore's paintings, as the poet himself had admitted, and Mr. Archer quoted Herbert Read's description of Picasso, which he thought also explained the outlook of this Indian writer who had suddenly started painting at the age of seventy.

Another phase of Indian art began about 1933, and this was the revived interest shown by Congress in Indian village life, which had an important influence on Indian artists. Amrita Sher Gil, one of the new modern artists, was influenced by Cézanne, Matisse, and most decisively by Gauguin, the latter

influencing not so much her style as her vision. Whereas Amrit *adopted* village peoples as her subject matter, however Jamini Roy, another painter influenced by the village movement, *returned* to village art forms, finding particular inspiration in the Santals and, strangely enough, in the subject of Christ, although he himself was not a Christian.

After 1942 Roy turned himself into a factory, and it was not until 1946 that another artist came to the front. This was George Keyt, who, although born in Ceylon, could be regarded as an Indian. He was influenced by Picasso, who had acted as a catalyst, a sort of chemical by means of which Keyt had discovered his own style and produced his own form of painting. Keyt's outstanding characteristic was romantic poems in the tradition of Sanskrit poetry, with the same kind of approach as Kangra and Basohli hill paintings.

For many in the audience this lecture had thrown completely new light on Indian art, and in fact the day was destined to be mainly artistic in nature, for lunch was followed by an exhibition by Mr. F. B. Pendarves Lory, C.I.E., who showed some examples from his very fine private collection of Indian paintings; and later on Mr. Basil Gray, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, tried to trace the origin of the Mughal school of painting.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAINTING IN INDIA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Mr. Basil Gray's subject was a highly controversial one, and led him through an area ranging from Assam and Nepal down to Gujerat and Bijapur. He dealt only with sixteenth-century painting, and pointed out that although the taste for narrative painting was something that the Mughals had brought with them from Samarkand and Herat to India, this did not inspire a new school of wall painting there, since it meant only a transference to the wall of miniature compositions from the MSS. "Yet no one denies

that India's debt to the Mughals was a great one," he continued. "It would be hard to exaggerate the value of the patronage of an established and wealthy patron, and also of the tradition of technical knowledge and skill found in the Mughal imperial library.

The early Mughal style was not born overnight after Panipat, he said; it was not an imported style, but was hardly established before about 1580, and not fully developed until about 1600. "No style is born fully developed, and the marvel is that the Mughal school achieved full growth in a single generation, for it only started in 1555, when Humayun returned to India bringing with him his accomplished Persian painters, and it could not have happened without the pre-existence of one or more schools of painting in India."

Mr. Gray suggested that there might have been scattered in remote areas in northern India local styles having in common the solid red ground and architectural framework in continuation of the classic medieval schools of painting. Because of the abundance of material from Gujerat in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and because of the known Gujerati origin of some Akbar period Mughal painters, it was assumed that this was the Indian school that contributed most to the creation of the Mughal style. In his writings since 1947 he had tried to combat this view, because the Gujerati school had reached an advanced state of degeneracy by the sixteenth century.

He had called attention to a sixteenth-century school of painting in Rajputana, and pointed out a direct example of the school's influence on Mughal painting in a detail taken from a Hamza-nama picture in the Victoria and Albert Museum. This particular figure had been referred to as a very ordinary Rajput type drawn from the life by a second-rate artist, but Mr. Gray contended that there was a stylistic connection between the figure and Rajput painting that could only be explained if it were by a master who had gone up from Rajputana to work with the Mughal academy. "This figure does not in the least resemble the

countless Rajput types we have in the Mughal MSS. of the Akbar period," explained Mr. Gray, "either in physical type or in the drawing of the features."

In considering the influence of the Mughal school, clearly it all depends whether you start from the idea of a vigorous Rajput school standing face to face with the early Mughal, or if you picture a weak local school being inspired by the arrival of newly accomplished partners. The question is, which partner provided the vigour in this alliance of Mughal and Rajput? It is a question of style, and it is only when this major question is answered that it will be possible to estimate the proportions of action and reaction between the Mughal and Rajput schools of painting.

The evidence of costume has often been cited, but not always correctly. Muslin was an Indian material eminently suited to the climate and never used in Persia, where silk and wool were the usual materials. The typical sixteenth-century North Indian male coat, the muslin "Jama," was normally represented in the Hamza-nama with four fairly long points depending from the four corners; it appeared to be a purely Indian fashion which is never represented in a Persian miniature. The six-pointed muslin garment which also appears, though only twice, in the Hamza-nama is quite different, gored right up to the belt. Neither garment appears much after 1600. All the evidence points to its being an old Indian fashion temporarily adopted at the Mughal Court in the sixteenth century, and so paintings in which it appeared were not necessarily made under Mughal stylistic influences. "But the detection of really stylistic influences of the Mughal school, as in the Boston Rasikapriya, does not justify one in classing the work as that of the Mughal school," added Mr. Gray. It was connected with the early Ragmalas of Central India, which showed strong affiliation with the Rajput group already mentioned. It was a type which showed a remarkable conservatism which in itself suggested a long tradition.

Mr. Gray concluded by showing his colour

slides, which demonstrated the new wave of Persian influence that was brought by Jehangir's accession, when something of the Indian spirit of life was lost. Jehangir imposed his personal taste on the Court, and compositions, instead of being dynamic, became static with subtle shades in colour, in contrast to the powerful style, truly Indian and unified, of the Mughals at the end of Akbar's reign.

SECOND DAY

The Literature of Gujerat

Dr. Davé dealt only with the British period of Gujerati literature, a period of about 100 years. He spoke of the spread of the Gujerati language, which is spoken in Bombay, Calcutta, Dui and Daman, East and South Africa, Singapore, Malaya, and by the Muslims of Trinidad, where a third of the population is Gujerati-speaking. The language therefore did not belong to any one community; it was spoken by the Parsis, the Bohras, Khojas and Memons, while both Qaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi had Gujerati as their mother tongue. Thus its literature was more secular than that of any other Indian State; its written literature dated from the thirteenth century, and there were many thousands of MSS. in Gujerati traceable from Sanskrit to the present day.

"Gujerat first came in contact with the British *people*—missionaries, political and administrative officers—and not with their literature," Dr. Davé explained. These early Britons were very interested in the history of India; Forbes, for instance, had produced his material in the volumes called the *Rai mala*, and Dalpat Ram of Ahmedabad, the first Gujerat poet to write about the British, became great friends with Forbes and travelled everywhere with him.

This was during the late Victorian period—the happiest period in history Dr. Davé described it. The British had brought peace to the country, and for the first time in centuries trade flourished. The contact of the British and Indians had been given by

God and had been of benefit to both; this was the theory that Dalpat Ram put into words, and Dr. Davé illustrated this by singing a poem written by Dalpat Ram in honour of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, and another which was a song of praise to British rule and a settled life.

A new viewpoint then entered the scene from Surat, where *Najmudar* Shankar, who had studied in British schools, began to write of freedom from the domination of the British. He was the first to produce a Gujerati dictionary and the first to write a patriotic poem. Later he went to Bombay, where he started a "Freedom Society," and both he and Dalpat Ram brought out rival monthly journals, Dalpat belonging to the old conservative school of "hasten slowly," *Najmudar* to the new one of quick reform.

Other influences on Gujerati literature were the coming of industry with its factories and railways, the conflicting creeds spread by missionaries, and, greatest of all, the social conflict with the British with their policy of education for girls as well as boys, widow remarriage, abolition of caste and of the joint family system; all these led to the writing of hundreds of novels on these and kindred problems.

The establishment of universities on Western lines brought a second stage, when the educated Indian came in touch with learned Britons and their literature. Dr. Davé spoke particularly of William Wordsworth's son, who was the first professor of English literature at Bombay University, and whose influence was specially noticeable on Govardhan-Ram, the novelist, and Ramam Bhai and Mahput Ram, the poets.

The Nadiad school of Gujerat was a reactionary centre of learning, and Manibhai of Nadiad, a pupil of Wordsworth's and a powerful writer known as "the father of Gujerat prose," started his own monthly journal here, urging people to return to the old traditions.

The third stage was dominated by Gandhi at Ahmedabad, where the Mahatma started a Gujerat university as well as producing his many periodicals. The short stories and the

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biographies that followed were the main results of this school's influence. Finally, Dr. Davé mentioned Kalilal Munshi, one of the greatest and most powerful of present-day novelists and playwrights.

Classical Sanskrit Poetry

Dr. Davé's lecture was followed by another in the same pleasant informality of the Junior Common Room. Like his colleague Dr. Davé, Mr. A. L. Basham opened up a whole new realm of literature for the majority of his listeners, and he was most ably assisted in this by Dr. Davé, who recited the Sanskrit poems that demonstrated so well the exquisite and intricate beauty of the courtly and predominantly secular poetry that is so little known in the West.

"The earliest surviving Sanskrit poetry in the classical style is that of the Buddhist poet Asvaghosa, who is believed to have lived at the end of the first century A.D. or in the first half of the second century," Mr. Basham explained. At the same time a Kavya inscription in Kathiawar had been written in the style of ornate courtly literature to commemorate the repair of a great artificial lake. The term "kavya," usually loosely translated as "poetry," defined a style rather than a form, explained Mr. Basham, who added that it might include both verse and prose.

Although it had been developing for some time, Kavya was a comparatively late element in Indian literature, for the priestly poetry of the Rig Veda was over a thousand years earlier. The greatest of the classical poets, Kalidasa, is believed to have lived at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries A.D., and by this time inscriptions proved that literature of this type was enjoyed, in courtly circles at least, all over India, and that it continued to be written and patronized by Courts throughout the Hindu period.

Soon after the Muslim conquest, however, Sanskrit literature gradually declined, but, added Mr. Basham, "Sanskrit literary tradition is not yet completely dead—for instance, only recently a 'Life of Mahatma

Gandhi' was written in courtly Sanskrit at the School of Oriental and African Studies."

Taken as a whole the classical Sanskrit literature has been called artificial, over-ornate, lacking in feeling and a waste of perverted ingenuity. "It was written mainly for recitation or performance at Court or for comparatively small circles of literati all well versed in the rigid canons of the literary convention and highly appreciative of verbal ingenuity," explained Mr. Basham. "... The poets lived in a comparatively static society, and their lives were controlled in detail by a body of social custom which was already ancient and which had the full sanction of religion behind it. Hence Indian Shelleys and Swinburnes are lacking; the poet is never in revolt against society; the soul tortured by doubts seems to have been comparatively rare in ancient India."

Mr. Basham pointed out that although religious themes in the sense of legends of the gods were common enough, deep religious feeling was comparatively rare; classical Sanskrit poetry should be looked upon as predominantly secular, and the gods, when they appeared, had usually the character of enlarged human beings.

Kalidasa in particular showed a deep love of nature, while panegyrics or *prasastis*, usually in praise of a king and his line, were very common, with a very prominent element of moralizing, and gnomic verses, often of a dry, worldly-wise humour, were very popular too.

Mr. Basham then went on to demonstrate the very high degree of technicality involved in the composition of classical verse. There were, he said, eight basic *rasas* or flavours from which an æsthetic experience should arise—love, courage, loathing, anger, mirth, terror, pity and surprise—and in theory every Sanskrit poem should contain one or more of these flavours. *Dhvani*—literally "reverberation"—was another important element in Sanskrit poetic theory; words had their primary meanings and their undertones, and it was with the undertones that the poet was concerned.

"By carefully handling his words," Mr.

Basham went on, "he can make them say far more than their bare meanings, and induce a whole series of emotions by a single brief verse."

But *alamkara*, the ornamentation, punning, alliteration, etc., was perhaps the most important tool of the poet, resulting in verse of extreme floridity. Mr. Basham compared such stock epithets as "the mine of jewels" for the sea, "the unmoving" for a mountain, "the sky-goer" for a bird, with Pope's "denizens of air" and "finny tribes."

The longer Sanskrit poem was usually prolix and shapeless, ill-balanced and with a very slender thread of narrative. But the individual verse was balanced and succinct, while single-verse poems were often very beautiful and extremely popular.

Metrically, Sanskrit poetry was rigidly regulated, the normal verse being one of four quarters, usually equal and unrhymed. Metre was quantitative as in Latin and Greek, and syllables were classed as long or short according to the value of the inherent vowel and the number of consonants which followed it. The standard epic metre of *sloka* was a verse of four quarters of eight syllables each, the first and third quarters ending 〰- - - while the second and fourth ended 〰-〰-.

But the classical poet preferred other metres of greater complexity and rigidity, some metres being based on syllabic instants. Counting the short syllables as one and the long as two, the quarter verse had to amount to a fixed total. Mr. Basham took as an example a well-known metre called "Arya" (the lady), in which the first and third quarters contained twelve, the second eighteen and the fourth fifteen instants each.

"We are dealing with a poetic convention in many respects different from that of Europe," Mr. Basham continued, "and this is one of the first obstacles to be surmounted if we are to derive any real pleasure from Sanskrit poetry."

Mr. Basham also warned his listeners that even the best of Sanskritists sometimes had to stop and puzzle over the use of an obscure pun or a passing reference to a little-known

Puranic legend. The feeling of literary Sanskrit verse was something that could not be translated into English. Literary Sanskrit revelled in long compound nouns and adjectives, and when Mr. Basham added that a single sentence may sometimes cover three or four printed pages, while a verse of sixty or more syllables may contain only five or six words, his audience grew rather apprehensive. However, he added that it was quite impossible to express this remarkable feature in English, and in the translations he was about to give he had attempted nothing more than a sort of rhythmic prose.

After telling his audience something of Kalidasa's history, he quoted a few verses from the *Meghaduta* (Cloud Messenger), one of Kalidasa's most popular works, which had been known in translation to Goethe, and which seemed to contain the quintessence of the whole of the ancient Indian culture.

Dr. Davé's rendering of these *slokas* in the original, with their metre called *Mandakranta*—the "slow stepper"—and the alliteration on the consonant "t," showed the audience the wonderful sonorosity of the language and the remarkable rhythmic complexity of the metres. Even those who could not understand a word of Sanskrit could enjoy the majesty of the verses.

Mr. Basham proceeded to quote a very striking punning verse which could be interpreted in two entirely different ways; and after further quotations from poems by Bhratachari and Amaru, he went on to talk at length of Jayadeva, another writer of erotic poetry who lived in Bengal in the twelfth century. Jayadeva used a new form, with an introductory stanza in one of the more usual metres, followed by the lyric proper which was rhymed with a regular refrain; these lyrics were almost unique in Sanskrit and looked forward to the verse forms of vernacular literature.

"Though Sanskrit poets were not used to rhyme," explained Mr. Basham, "Jayadeva showed completed mastery of a strange technique. More, the first and third and the second and fourth quarters rhymed in an a.b.a.b. pattern. The first and third quarters

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used the same vowel 'e' throughout the lyric, and the final syllables of these quarters within the verse were identical; the rhymes of the second and fourth quarters were double, and throughout the lyric there was a rhyme or assonance in the third syllable of the first and third quarters, on—'ati' or 'asi.'"

This particular poem was from the Gita Govinda, a series of dramatic lyrics of which Mr. Basham quoted several verses.

Another amazing example of ingenuity was given in some *ekaksara* verses of the seventh-century poet Magha, verses employing only one consonant throughout, while a verse called a Sarvatobhadra proved to be a complicated mixture of syllabic palindrome and acrostic, the unit being the syllable and not the letter. Each quarter verse was a palindrome, the whole read in the original producing an impression which Mr. Basham described as "polyphonic."

Another seventh-century poet who wrote rather more straightforward poetry was Bana, who used a heavy metre with subtle alliterative effects. Several examples of gnomic verse were given, as well as others of panegyric verse containing several interesting alliterative effects. Mr. Basham also quoted from popular narrative poetry, particularly Somadeva's version of the Katha-saritsagara, "The Ocean of Story," written in the eleventh century in simple but polished verse with the typical "happy ending" demanded by all Indian drama.

Mr. Basham's treatment of his fascinating and little-known subject, aided by Dr. Davé's impressive recitations in the original Sanskrit, left the majority of his listeners determined to investigate further the delights of Sanskrit literature.

Culture of Ceylon

That afternoon the discussion moved southwards to the happy island of Ceylon. His Excellency E. A. Wijeyeratne, High Commissioner for Ceylon, who had come from London with her Excellency to talk to members of the Summer School, was introduced to them by Sir William Barton after

lunch in Hall, when the High Commissioner and other distinguished guests sat at High Table with Sir David Keir, Master of Balliol. The Master and Sir Eugen Millington-Drake were among the after-lunch speakers, and when the company adjourned to the Junior Common Room his Excellency went on to talk of some aspects of cultural progress in his island.

CULTURAL PROGRESS IN CEYLON

Mr. E. A. P. Wijeyeratne, High Commissioner for Ceylon, gave a fascinating talk on the various aspects of the cultural development of the people of Ceylon, and began by speaking of the island's ancient civilization, her enormous temples which testified to 2,500 years of recorded history, and her unique collection of ancient documents which chronicled the cultural progress of her people throughout the centuries.

The High Commissioner referred to Ceylon's contacts with the Greeks, Romans, Chinese and with Northern India, all of whom contributed to the development of her art, music, architecture and engineering skill. "It is still today believed to have formed part of the region of Ophir and Tarshish of the Hebrews," his Excellency continued, "from which King Solomon was supplied with gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks," and he spoke of the many complimentary names bestowed on the island by peoples of old—the "Resplendent Land" of the Brahmins, the "Land of the Hyacinth and the Ruby" of the Greeks, the "Island of Jewels" of the Chinese, and the "Divine Lanka" of the Siamese. The Muslims believed it was the cradle of the first parents of mankind, the substitute Garden of Eden given them on their exile to console them for the loss of Paradise itself.

After tracing the early known history of the settlement of the Aryans in Ceylon and the amazing network of tanks they constructed, often working under incredibly difficult conditions, in circumstances demanding not only superb skill but vision and tenacity, the High Commissioner went on to

describe how the needs of the mind were then provided for by the introduction of Buddhism, an austere, intellectual philosophy and faith which continued for nearly twenty-five centuries.

He spoke of the romantic story of the first Buddhist missionaries to Ceylon—Asoka's own brother and daughter, who founded Buddhist monastic orders in the island.

"Although these and other contacts continued to flow in from the neighbouring continent throughout the later centuries," his Excellency continued, "the inherent character of conservatism of an island people allowed but little modification to the cultural and creative efforts which they had by then begun to regard as their own. This creative genius, which commenced two and a half centuries before the Christian era, continued with all the inevitable ups and downs, to be alive up to the thirteenth century, when signs of exhaustion set in."

Mr. Wijeyeratne next dwelt on the Dravidian invasions, when Ceylon became part of the great Chola Empire, which left its mark in various architectural monuments and a series of superb bronzes. He pointed out, however, that many of the Dravidian type of buildings erected during this period were built by Singhalese rulers or religious dignitaries who were admirers of this type of architecture.

Speaking of the development of architecture in Ceylon, the High Commissioner said that there were two distinctive types of buildings, one the circular shrine enclosing the stupa, and the other the brick-built shrine with vaulted roof and massive walls, instancing particularly the giant stupas dating from the second century B.C. The school of sculptural art established in Ceylon during the early period of its history arose as a result of the cultural contact with Asoka's India, and later on the characteristics of harmony, serenity and balance, the keynotes of Gupta art, could be seen in a notable example of the figures of a pair of lovers. Mr. Wijeyeratne spoke particularly of the sculptured guardstones embellishing the flight of steps that led to the entrances of the

ancient temples of Anuradhapura, together with the semicircular stone slabs, beautifully ornamented, which were found at the beginning of the steps. These went out of vogue before the Gupta period in India, but continued to develop in Ceylon, where they were known as moonstones, representing a moon cut in half, and had been described as "lyrics in stone."

"In the guardstones and the guardian deities to be found at Anuradhapura," his Excellency continued, "may be noticed the dignified poise of the figure, the serene expression of the face, the sensitive modelling of the limbs, particularly of the abdomen, and the treatment of the drapery. The decorative scheme comprises an ornamental border, a row of animals—the elephant, the horse, the lion and the bull—a foliated pattern of exquisite delicacy. . . . The modelling of the various figures, and the composition of the different decorative elements into a balanced whole, reveal the touch of the master hand."

"If there is one direction more than any other in which the people of my country in the days of old may be said to have made their greatest and most enduring contribution to Asiatic and even world art and culture, it is in their paintings, with the work at Sigiriya as their most glorious achievement," the High Commissioner continued. "I want you to go with me away from the crowded cities and away from the smiling fields and the activities of the day-to-day peasant life, to what appears to be a dreary stretch of flat land, vast and arid. As far as the eye can reach one sees hardly any habitations of man; no rivers large or small, nor ripples of water, except a small tank in disrepair, to brighten the landscape of this, an otherwise dismal scene. But, looming over it all, aloof, ageless, inscrutable, stands the secular rock fortress of Sigiriya."

"It is in fact our great National Gallery. Havell describes the figures of the women painted on the rock as being done with a Botticellian grace, and observes that the best of the Sigiriya figures are drawn with a master's hand, swift and sure, though swayed

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by the impulse of the moment; and compares them to the best qualities of the Ajanta paintings and to the great masterpieces of Chinese and Japanese art. Vincent Smith, whilst somewhat reluctant to accept this valuation, admits that these paintings are extremely remarkable productions of their age."

There were lingering traces of this same beauty in the temples of the twelfth century at Polonnaruwa, evidence of the remarkable preservation of Ceylon's high artistic traditions.

Turning to literature, Mr. Wijeyeratne said that scholars believed Singhalese literature to be more than 2,000 years old, and there were recently discovered instances of metrical compositions carved along and by the side of an ancient tank in the southern part of the island, dating to the pre-Christian era. The scriptures of the Buddhists were put in written form in the first century B.C. at the Temple of Aluvihare. Singhalese literature between the first and sixth centuries A.D. was not now available, and most of that which was now obtainable was of the fifteenth century. A hundred years before Shakespeare's day Ceylon boasted a galaxy of poets and writers whose works were studied today in temples and schools.

The age of decadence began after the sixteenth century with changes of political fortune and inroads made by three consecutive invasions by different European nations. Apart from a literary revival in the latter days of the Dutch and the early days of the British occupations, the age of the great Singhalese poets and writers had disappeared.

In the dramatic sphere Mr. Wijeyeratne said that Ceylon had been outstanding for more than 600 years, and his Excellency quoted several stanzas of descriptive verse in which poets of the period had put into metrical lines their experiences at these dramatic entertainments.

"With perfumed long tresses, bedecked with flowers tied at the nape of the neck, with bejewelled ornaments, with strings of garlands covering their bodies, behold a bevy of these beautiful dancers, both male and female,

come before us on the stage, with their breasts solely bedecked with strings of pearls."

Describing the special dance form called the Vannames, an action song, the High Commissioner said that this was "a composite tremulous gait, a gesture of dalliance of the wild beasts as seen by man day in and day out. The gait of the elephant, the dance and movements of the hare, the martial tread of the horse, the flight of the birds, particularly the hawk—all these are described in action and song." And he went on to quote a song typical of the actions of a rabbit. "Terrorized he sleeps in the forest. If he notices anyone, away he flies. He gallops; his pulse beats fast; tremulously he sits. The song is sad; yet he is at the gallop feeding on the leaves of the plains. The moon is in the zenith in all its splendour, and even then he is on the run and is jubilant. Finally he enters his forest abode as if on a journey in the pleasant company of the gods."

The poet of ancient pastoral Ceylon loved to describe simple, everyday activities in human life, with many wishes and prayers for a long life. Some of the lullabies of this type, dating back some 600 years, are still sung today by the women of the remoter villages:

With the wild olives gathered in hand,
With green leaves stored in the pouch,
With a bundle of firewood on her head,
Your mother is coming back to you now.

His Excellency quoted other lullabies, harvest songs and panegyrics, as well as love songs of a charming delicacy. Epistolary poems written by renowned poets, in which an epistle was despatched to a god soliciting his favour on behalf of some human being of high eminence, were named after bird-messengers such as the parrot, the swan, the peacock and the flamingo. These poems gave the modern reader a very good idea of social and economic conditions in Ceylon seven or eight hundred years ago. "They help to unravel historical facts, to facilitate geographical discoveries, facts concerning roads and highways which gave access to various distant places in the country and to prosperous villages and market towns," said the

High Commissioner. "They dealt with trade and commerce, occupations and customs and manners relating to the people."

Folk songs were another rich source of material, while recent discoveries made by the present Archæological Commissioner had revealed several pre-Christian inscriptions in Singhalese verse, giving a history of some 2,000 years to Ceylon's language and literature.

The High Commissioner concluded by saying that there was still much he would liked to have said on the influence of Buddhism, the forms of land tenure, taxation and legal systems generally, as well as the less rigid form of caste system than existed in neighbouring countries.

"Before I conclude I want to refer to the position of women in our country, which makes it possible for them to occupy an honoured place in many of the phases of our cultural activities," added his Excellency. He went on to compare the system with that of ancient Rome, for in Ceylon there had to be equality of status, the consent of the parties concerned, including the consent of certain of the elders related to both families, the gathering of the clans and the marriage festival itself.

"This resembled closely the doctrines of consubium, consortium and consensus of the ancient Romans, but transcendent above all was the position which woman herself occupied in the social system. . . . Our own women were the product of a matriarchal system in which woman became the predominant person in the family. She had the right to own private property and to dispose of the same, to obtain a divorce if she felt that she required release, to be the head of the family and even to give the children her own name for the purpose of continuity of family, and to send away the husband from her home when he became a drag to the family and ceased to render that support and assistance which a man was expected to give for the upbringing of his children."

On such a note—which made some of the feminine members of his audience regret they had not been born in Ceylon—his Excellency

ended one of the most fascinating and stimulating lectures of the Summer School.

Mr. Wijeyeratne's address was followed by a short lecture-recital by Miss Victoria Kingsley, whom many in the audience remembered meeting at the previous year's Summer School at Cambridge just before she set off on her extensive tour of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Miss Kingsley spoke of the universal appeal of lullabies, folk songs and working songs, and explained that these were the type of songs she had demonstrated during her tour. She had found great sympathy and understanding among her audiences everywhere, and had tried to get beyond those with a Western education, to the country people. Shakespeare's songs, Spanish, Negro spirituals and British country songs had all proved popular, while the Irish folk song "I wonder I never got married" had been an especial favourite in girls' schools.

As Miss Kingsley illustrated her lecture with examples of these songs passers-by in the quadrangle paused to gather at the open windows, and stayed there fascinated for the rest of her recital. Of particular appeal was a wistful lament from the Hebrides which drew appreciative comments from Mr. Wijeyeratne, who, after the lecture was ended, begged Miss Kingsley to repeat that particular lament.

"She sings it with such feeling," he whispered to me. "She puts her whole soul into her songs!"

And, indeed, this was obvious to all the audience, whether the song was a gay bolero from Chile, a Brazilian song in batuke rhythm, or the "Coventry Carol" set to an old American tune.

Miss Kingsley added that Ceylon had been the only place where she had sung, really successfully, Elizabethan songs; these had been much appreciated there, for the people of Ceylon seemed to have a special love of Shakespeare and his period.

Iqbal

The concluding lecture of the day was Dr. H. H. Bilgrami's learned discourse on

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Sheik Mohammed Iqbal. Dr. Bilgrami, an acknowledged authority on the great poet, spoke of his poetry in connection with nationalism, and he began with a quotation:

Look at me, for in India you will never find again,
A man of Brahmin extraction versed in the mystic
knowledge of Rumi and Tabriz.

In the course of outlining the poet's life history, Dr. Bilgrami spoke of the inspiring influence two men had had upon Iqbal in his formative years, Mir Hasan at a Scottish mission school, and Professor Sir Thomas Arnold at the Government College, Lahore, to both of whom the poet had acknowledged his indebtedness.

"These two influences, coupled with the fact that he was conscious of his Aryan origin, have played a great part in determining Iqbal's trend of thought," said Dr. Bilgrami. "His love of Eastern values and Western discipline, his desire to break the so-called barriers of East and West, his love to see his country playing a free part in the establishment of world peace, may largely be explained by these early influences of his two great teachers."

It was thus equipped that Iqbal had come to Cambridge in 1905 and later gone on to Munich, where he submitted the thesis (later dedicated to Prof. Arnold) that secured him his doctorate in philosophy.

That this short stay in the West gave Iqbal the training in Western philosophy and method of research referred to by Professor Arberry was true, continued Dr. Bilgrami, but it also made Iqbal feel that if Western civilization was allowed to grow on the ideals of imperialism and nationalism it would soon be deprived of the wealth of love and sense of higher purpose in life.

After tracing Iqbal's legal and political career, culminating in his appointment as President of the Annual Session of the Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930, Dr. Bilgrami spoke of Iqbal's statement at that time, which, he said, was destined to change the fate of the East. The poet suggested that the only possible solution of the restless conditions of the Indian subcontinent lay "not in the

negation but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many."

Deploing the fact that Iqbal's association with the political life of his country should have given the impression that he was the poet of Muslim India, or at best of the Muslim world, Dr. Bilgrami said that this had led to the universal element of his poetry being ignored. The ideas of nationalism and racial superiority had so preoccupied the West during the early years of this century that any solution of the world problem not based on the geographical unit was difficult to accept.

Iqbal's philosophy of freedom, equality and love as the basis of universal brotherhood, based on the ideology of Islam, cut at the roots of nationalism itself, while his frequent choice of personalities from Muslim history and his references to the Quran added to the difficulty found by the West in appreciating the real significance of his message.

Dr. Bilgrami quoted from Iqbal's own writings to refute this idea of exclusiveness; he traced the growing political consciousness and nationalism of India during Iqbal's lifetime and the poet's regret that his people had failed to find a principle of internal harmony. Although he had been a firm advocate of partition, this was paradoxically enough the negation of the theory of nationalism, said Dr. Bilgrami. In fact, Iqbal attributed many of the ills of modern society to nationalism. "In political separation he saw the basis of establishing Indian society at least in two separate ideologies, limited not by geographical boundaries but by their own ideology. . . . If the fact is realized that the new State of Iqbal's conception was the establishment of a society deeply interested in the service of humanity, in the promotion of peace and in providing equal opportunities for all, irrespective of colour, caste or creed, much of the misunderstanding will be removed."

Dr. Bilgrami went on to consider some of the aspects of Iqbal's philosophy, the oneness of God which demanded loyalty to God and not to the throne, and thus a constant training and self-discipline in the individual

to try and develop the attributes of God, particularly of love in its highest form.

Iqbal had contributed his share in bringing the kingdom of God upon earth by re-discovering for the world a workable and practical basis of a universal social order. "Let us hope," Dr. Bilgrami concluded, "that his message will bring closer the divided humanity and will be considered by the world on its merit."

THIRD DAY

The third day's programme included visits to the Museum of Eastern Art and the Bodleian, talks on Amarāvati sculpture and the problems of Indo-European art, and a sitar recital.

The Museum of Eastern Art

Dr. William Cohn, the distinguished Director of the Museum of Eastern Art, which has only recently been opened, gave an extremely lively lecture in the galleries of his Museum, taking his audience from one exhibit to the other as he demonstrated very vividly how Chinese art had been influenced by that of India.

It was to the pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in A.D. 629, that we owed much of our knowledge of the India of his day, Dr. Cohn explained, and he went on to show how much could be learnt of old civilizations from the art of those periods. To begin with, the West had strongly influenced Indian art, and the influence of the Roman toga in the Buddhist draperies of a large first-century Gandhara Buddha was evidence of the important links that had existed at that time. Dr. Cohn suggested that in all probability the Chinese pilgrim had taken back to China with him one or more of the small Gandhara Buddhas which had served as models for subsequent Buddhas in China and Japan, and the connection was made more obvious when Dr. Cohn compared actual exhibits from these three countries. Particularly striking was the figure of Buddha in his youth, wrestling, with his attendants in the background. A comparison of a sixth-century Indian model with a seventh-

century Japanese scroll showing the same subject was unmistakable in its inference.

Included among the Museum's art treasures were many fine exhibits lent by two members of the R.I.P.C.S., Dr. Reginald le May and Mr. H. P. B. Medd, O.B.E. Dr. Cohn referred to exhibits belonging to both these members in the course of his lecture. Another striking example of the strong links was demonstrated by one of Mr. Medd's exhibits, a third- or fourth-century terracotta relief from Kashmir, depicting Indian ascetics squatting in exactly the same position as that of the Buddha.

Dr. Cohn went on to suggest that some of the later examples of the Madonna and Child had been derived from the early Kuanyins, the Chinese Goddess of Mercy, who is shown holding a child, and that the Chinese figure in its turn had been derived from an Indian model of Hārīti with child, and this again from tenth- and eleventh-century figures of Padmapāni.

Many members of the Society lingered on or returned to the Museum later, to browse at leisure among the many striking exhibits that had come so vividly to life in the course of Dr. Cohn's fascinating talk.

Amarāvati Sculpture

Mention a Buddhist stupa and nine people out of ten will at once think of Sanchi, but the lecture that followed, given by Mr. D. E. Barrett, Assistant Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, dealt with the equally impressive but now totally destroyed stupa at Amarāvati.

Mr. Barrett said that Amarāvati sculpture was of special interest to Englishmen, since it ranked with the Parthenon marbles and Assyrian reliefs as one of the three most important bodies of sculpture owned by the nation, and was, in fact, the only Indian sculpture of major æsthetic interest that could be studied outside India itself.

After describing the location of Amarāvati, on the south bank of the river Krishna, Mr. Barrett went on to give a brief outline of the early history of the Deccan and of the

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dynasty that ruled Amarāvati. Known in the Puranas as the Andhras and in all other literary sources and in their inscriptions as the Satavahanas, one theory identified this dynasty with the Telugu-speaking Andhras of the east coast of India, but a second theory, and one to which the speaker subscribed, placed the cradle of the Satavahanas in the Western Deccan and held that they were a Vindhyan power who extended their rule south and east.

The question of chronology presented something of a problem with similarly two schools of thought. Most scholars were agreed that the end of the Satavahana rule took place somewhere in the second quarter of the third century A.D., but apart from this they seemed to agree on little else, and Mr. Barrett gave both the long and the short chronologies. These showed how the first Satavahana king, whose name appeared variously as Simuka, Sindhuka, Sisuka or Sipraka, dated from either about 200 B.C. or the second quarter of the first century B.C., according to whichever chronology was taken.

His conclusion was that, according to present archaeological evidence, Satavahana control of Andhradesa (Amarāvati) took place only after about A.D. 130.

"The history of the rediscovery of the stupa at the end of the eighteenth century, made unfortunately practically simultaneously by Col. Mackenzie and a local zemindar on the lookout for treasure and building material, and the subsequent and unhappy adventures of the marbles during the nineteenth century, has been too often told for me to repeat it," Mr. Barrett went on. "But the curious may piece it together from the old accounts of Mackenzie himself, Sewell, Fergusson and Burgess. Unfortunately, when Burgess, the first truly scientific investigator, arrived at Amarāvati in 1881, what had in Mackenzie's day been a very large, low tumulus, crowned by a smaller one about 90 feet in diameter and 20 feet high, had become, by the depredations of Indian and English diggers alike, a large pit, roughly circular, about 225 feet in

diameter, with extensions at the four cardinal points!"

Mr. Barrett reconstructed the Amarāvati stupa as a dome 138 feet in diameter and about 60 feet high, resting on a drum 163 feet in diameter and about 5 feet 5 inches high. The sculptures of the drum were supported by a brick wall 4 feet thick and the dome itself sprang from a brick foundation 8 feet wide. The body of the drum and stupa seemed to have been solid earth or earth with alternate layers of brick or concrete.

He used the famous drum slab in the Madras Museum, which depicts an Andhra stupa, to illustrate the architectural details of the building, which was surrounded by a carved rail, pierced by impressive gates at the four cardinal points.

The stupa itself was made of a very lovely pale greenish limestone either painted or gilded, although today there was little or no trace of either, and the limestone itself had turned white. The slides with which Mr. Barrett illustrated his lecture showed various examples of magnificently carved roundels together with a number of other sculptures taken from the stupa.

Amarāvati sculptures, said Mr. Barrett, used symbols for the Buddha alongside the Buddha figure right to the end, and in his view the Amarāvati Buddha had only a superficial similarity with the Northern Buddha, either of Gandhara or Mathura. Though the religious idea was of Northern origin, he felt that the Amarāvati sculptor had worked out his conception of the Buddha figure largely unaided.

"Perhaps we may think of the stupa," Mr. Barrett continued, "as a sort of large church in England, continuously being renewed, brought up to date and restored. A Saxon arcade here, a Norman chancel arch, a thirteenth-century chancel, a Perpendicular nave, a bit of tidying up by a James Wyatt, and some ruthless surgery by a mid-nineteenth-century gentleman sponsored by the Camden Society!"

On this assumption he went on to fit together the various pieces that remained after the basic reconstruction. Among these



SUMMER SCHOOL: BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, 1951

The photographs for these illustrations were provided by Sylvia A. Matheson, including the illustration on the front cover.

PLATE II



SUMMER SCHOOL: BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, 1951



SUMMER SCHOOL: BALIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, 1951

PLATE IV



SUMMER SCHOOL: BALIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, 1951

were several pieces with large figures in three registers with a rail pattern at the bottom, which must, if they belonged to the stupa, have been stupa slabs. They were certainly contemporary with the ordinary stupa slabs, being reminiscent of the Kushan Mathura style, and at least on one of the pieces the Buddha figure was also found. Some of the drum slabs themselves were carved on both sides and presented what Mr. Barrett described as "a nice problem." There were three groups of this type of slab in the Andhra country, all three having a column down one side of the slab with a capital of adorsed animals, a Yakshi and a lotus base. Many of the slabs were otherwise plain with two or three columns. The reverse of an Amarāvati slab from the British Museum suggested to Mr. Barrett a date not earlier than the first century A.D.; the reverse of another slab in Boston he dated about the first half of the second century A.D.; while the third example, a famous piece from Jaggayapeta, which was usually dated as second century B.C., he preferred to think was not earlier than the birth of Christ.

"I can imagine, then, a sequence something like this, if all the pieces we have accepted as belonging to the big stupa really do belong," Mr. Barrett concluded. "A stupa, the same size as ours, with that part of the drum which formed the ayaka projections faced with the 'old' slabs, the facings of the rest of the drum being decorated with pillars only. The dome, plastered with stucco, plain or ornamented, and painted. A stone fence of Sanchi type, perhaps with the coping stones depicting young men and the beasts. Sculptured panels first applied to the dome, and then a new rail, and finally the renovation of the drum slabs, all this taking place within 150 years."

Finally Mr. Barrett referred to the survival of the Amarāvati school, which continued with some changes to the end of the third century or thereabouts, influencing Ceylon and indirectly inspiring Pallava sculpture of the late sixth century or early seventh." It was apparently still alive at the end of the fifth century," concluded Mr. Barrett, "for

of the two groups of bronzes discovered in Andhradesa and usually called Gupta, the style having arrived via the Vakataka and Vishnukundins, one piece at least in each group showed the Amarāvati style of Buddha with the distinctive thick, opaque swag draped over his left wrist. The monumental example of this being, of course, the great bronze Buddha found at Dong Duong in Indo-China (ancient Champa)."

Mr. Barrett is looking forward to studying these problems at first hand later this year, when he hopes to join Professor K. de B. Codrington at Sanchi and afterwards to travel on down to the Deccan.

Dr. F. H. Gravely, formerly Superintendent of the Government Museum at Madras and now at Reading University, thanked Mr. Barrett for his very learned and enlightening lecture, and Dr. le May mentioned other examples of the Amarāvati Buddha which had been found in Siam and the Southern islands. After lunch another lantern lecture was given by Mr. John Irwin, Assistant Keeper of the India Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Problems of Indo-European Art

This was a subject that had not previously been discussed in the annals of the Society, and Mr. Irwin began by saying that he was concerned with the intellectual problem that preceded 1630, when chinoiserie became popular in England, and that he proposed to attempt to trace the influence of Indian art on that of England.

British trade connections with India in the first half of the seventeenth century only marked a new stage in a process that had been continuous since the Tudor period, said Mr. Irwin. There had always been a reciprocal exchange of influence between the East and the West, and the borrowing from either side had been of features which were eclectic in the first place and not of the indigenous arts.

Illustrating this point with examples of furniture and materials of the period, Mr. Irwin showed how Italy had borrowed form and technique from the East which she had

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translated into casks and coffers. A few generations later India had borrowed these forms back from Italy, and from India the Dutch had in all probability taken back to Europe a style that had by now become a fusion of Italian, Indian and Dutch. Mr. Irwin traced the trade connections of the Arabs and Chinese with India and the Spice Isles, from whence goods, originating in India, had been taken by the Portuguese to Japan, while at the same time chinoiserie was being sent from China to India, and India sent specially designed, hand-painted bedspreads to Portugal.

There were Mughal copies of European paintings—of the Crucifixion and the Martyrdom of St. Cecilia, for instance—copies made in the sixteenth century by Jehangir's artists from originals brought by Sir Thomas Rowe; the reverse process was shown in Rembrandt's copies of Mughal miniatures of the Akbar period.

How middle eastern and Islamic styles of decoration had filtered through Italy to India, were there Indianized and thence filtered back again to Europe, made fascinating hearing. An altar table, made in 1610 for Jesuit priests in Lahore, depicted a combination of renaissance cherubs and Indian Court characters, while a Dutch engraver's pattern book showed Chinese patterns executed in European style with a glorious mix-up of chinoiserie and European art forms.

It was, said Mr. Irwin, the introduction in the period of James I, of the Indo-Persian style of embroidery with its open flowering patterns that had released the crowded sprig embroidery of Elizabethan times, while sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese tiled altar-pieces, copied in the style of textiles for the sake of economy, showed a pronounced Indianized style taken from Indian textiles themselves.

This lecture, like all the others, was followed by a number of pertinent questions from members of the audience, and it was the final lecture, as such, of the course.

The Summer School, however, was to close

with another musical lecture, which like the previous one, was introduced and arranged by Dr. Arnold Baké.

Sitar Recital

Professor D. T. Joshi, a pupil of the late Inayat Khan and one of India's foremost musicians, brought the Summer School lectures to a close with an all-too-brief sitar recital. Dr. Baké first of all spoke of the different moods and emotions expressed by the varying "rags," and said that Professor Joshi would first play the Rag "alap," expressing the feelings of a woman separated from her lover. This was known as "Gopali," and formed an excellent introduction to the rest of the programme.

Professor Joshi went on to play an alap in the rag "Desh" which had the opposite significance—that of the meeting of lovers—and this was followed by a complete contrast in the popular North Indian ragini, "Parvi," which expressed both calm and emotion and had a scale which was quite different from the two previous rags and was not at all comparable with anything in the West.

Dr. Baké said that it was the interchange of Hindu and Muslim culture that had led to the development of this art in Northern India.

Sir William Barton thanked both Professor Joshi and Dr. Baké for the recital and congratulated Mr. Richter on the very successful Summer School that he had once more arranged so competently.

During the course of the weekend Mr. Richter had taken a large party of members over New College, where he had himself been an undergraduate, while before the party dispersed he also showed members over the Bodleian library and the Ashmolean Museum. Well before the close of the session, members were already eagerly discussing next year's Summer School and making plans to attend.

N.B.—The Summer School in 1952 will be from June 27 to July 1 at Wadham College. Full particulars from the Hon. Secretary of the Society.

THE CULT OF DEIFIED ROYALTY

SOURCE OF INSPIRATION OF THE GREAT MONUMENTS OF ANGKOR*

By GEORGE CCEDES

ONE of the best attested dates in Khmer chronology is A.D. 802, which marks the beginning of the reign of Jayavarman II, founder of the Angkorian royalty. Rescuing the country from the anarchy into which it had been plunged during the eighth century, Jayavarman II reunited the Cambodian land, founded his capital near the future site of Angkor, and carried out on the summit of Mahendraparvata (Phnom Kulén) a ceremony designed to break the bonds of vassallage *vis-à-vis* Java, "so that henceforth there might not be more than one sole king who was universal monarch (*cakravartin*)."

The establishment of the royal seat in the Angkor region coincides firstly with a more definite manifestation of the divine character of the kingship, already known from the pre-Angkorian period, and secondly with the appearance of a new architectural feature : the simple or quintuple sanctuary raised on a stepped pyramid.

This architectural feature is both characteristic of Angkorian architecture and at the same time limited to a small number of great monuments which are situated in the capital or its immediate environs, and strictly associated with the seat of the royal power. They are:

Prasat Ak Yom, buried in the south dyke of the Western Baray.

Krus Prah Aram Rong Chen, built on Phnom Kulén, perhaps by Jayavarman II.

Bakong, built in 881 by Indravarman for the *liṅga* Indreśvara.

Bakhèng, built at the end of the ninth century by Yaśovarman in the middle of his capital, Yaśodharapura, for the *liṅga* Yaśodhareśvara.

Prasat Thom of Koh Ker, built in 921-928 by Jayavarman IV for the *liṅga* Tribhuvaneśvara.

Baksei Chamkrong, without doubt begun before the last-mentioned and finished in 948 by Rājendravarman for a golden Parameśvara.

Eastern Mebon, built in 952 by Rājendravarman for the *liṅga* Rājendreśvara.

Prè Rup, built in 961 by Rājendravarman for the *liṅga* Rājendrabhadreśvara.

Ta Kèo, begun by Jayavarman V at the end of the tenth century and continued by Sūryavarman I at the beginning of the eleventh.

Phimeanakas, begun by Jayaviravarman at the beginning of the eleventh century and finished by Sūryavarman I.

Baphuon, built in the third quarter of the eleventh century by Udayādityavarman II in the middle of his capital for the gold *liṅga* enshrining his subtle ego.

Angkor Wat, built in the first half of the twelfth century by Sūryavarman II and afterwards becoming his mausoleum.

Bayon, built at the end of the twelfth century by Jayavarman VII in the middle of his capital (Angkor Thom) for the image of the Jayabuddha.

Thus of the thirteen temples enumerated six were certainly dedicated to the royal *liṅga* between the ninth and eleventh centuries ; a seventh, Angkor Wat, became the mausoleum of its founder ; and, finally, the last contained a Buddhist image of which the name recalled that of Jayavarman VII. The association of this particular architectural type, the pyramid, with royalty is therefore certain. If the cult of the royal *liṅga* is attested from the pre-Angkorian period, its

* Lecture delivered to the Society on May 22, 1951.

THE CULT OF DEIFIED ROYALTY

installation on a pyramid is the great innovation of the Angkorian kings.

The reason for this innovation, that of placing the sanctuary of the royal *līṅga* on an edifice symbolizing a mountain, is Jayavarman II's institution of a new cult, the object of which was a deity specified in the Khmer language by an expression meaning "the master of the world who is the king," and called in Sanskrit *devarāja*.

Louis Finot, in a discussion of the meaning of these terms, has shown that the *devarāja* is the abstract king, of a superhuman nature, the royal essence blended with the divine essence in the form of a *līṅga*. But he believed that the *devarāja* was represented by a unique image, which each king would have passed on to his successor. Now, the hypothesis of a single *devarāja* throughout the centuries raises some big difficulties, because in vain would one seek his sanctuary amongst the great monuments of the capital. On the contrary, one finds on the one hand at Prasat Thom of Koh Ker a pyramid which epigraphy teaches was consecrated to the "master of the world who is the royalty," and on the other hand a series of temple-mountains each dedicated to a personal image closely associated by its name with the kingly founder; and one knows in addition that these images were distinct from one another, since some were of stone, others of precious metal. The idea of a unique *devarāja* really arises from an erroneous interpretation of a text which, on the contrary, speaks of "*several devarājas*." It follows from this that the royal essence was identified for each reign with the subtle ego of the reigning king, and that the *devarāja*, unique when considered as a philosophical and religious conception implying the existence of an image of the abstract king, was in reality multiple, each reign having its own.

The innovation of the Angkorian architecture which consisted in placing the royal *līṅga* on a temple-mountain coincides with the establishment of the *devarāja* cult. It seems that the originality of this cult lay in the integration of the personal cult of the

līṅga carrying the king's name into a system, the object of which was the deification of the abstract king, of the permanent principle of royalty, and that this permanence was precisely marked by the permanence of the pyramidal part of the monument. Before the establishment of the *devarāja* cult, the royal *līṅga* was simply the manifestation of Śiva incarnate in a particular king. Its installation on the temple-mountain seems intended to show that the new cult transcends in some way that of the personal *līṅga*, temporary manifestation of Śiva, and is henceforth addressed, with the same outward appearance, but in the traditional setting representative of the sacred mountain of Fu-nan or of the *Līṅgaparvata* of early Cambodia, to the eternal prototype of the king blended with Śiva.

It is not by chance if most of the characteristics of the Khmer *devarāja* are found in the god of the soil of ancient China: his representation by a pillar planted on a square mound recalls the *līṅga* on its pyramid; the investiture of vassals by a clod of earth taken from the imperial god of the soil's altar is paralleled by Yaśovarman's giving a "residuum" of his *līṅga* Yaśodhareśvara to a Brahman so that he made a *līṅga* destined to be installed on a newly granted land; the offering of a booty to the god of the soil on the return from a victorious campaign is attested in Cambodia in the eleventh century, in favour of the gold *līṅga* of Udayādityavarman II; the eviction of the private god of the soil of a fallen dynasty and its transformation into a dead god which became the object of funerary rites is analogous to the transformation of the temple of the *devarāja* into the mausoleum of its founder; the association of the altar of the god of the soil with the temple of the ancestors is also found in Cambodia, as between the temple-mountain of the *devarāja* and the funerary temple of the king's relatives.

These correspondences find their explanation in the common origin of the two cults. In effect one must remember that the cult of the *devarāja* had for its object the inde-



HARBOUR
A picture from the Exhibition of R. Fernando

pendence of the country from Java, and its territorial unification under the authority of a single king who is designated by a Khmer expression meaning "master of the inferior surface"—that is to say, master of the soil. One of the characteristics of the primitive religion of Asia of the monsoons is that of a religion of the soil. It is this characteristic

that one ultimately finds again in studying the deification of the Angkorian royalty, its association with the pyramid, of which the form reminds one simultaneously of the sacred mountains of the earlier kingdoms of Cambodia and the mound of the Chinese god of the soil, and lastly its association with the cult of the ancestors, guardians of the soil.

RANJIT FERNANDO

(EXHIBITION AT MONTAGE GALLERY)

AN unusually restrained use of colour form distinguishes the work of a promising young Sinhalese artist, Ranjit Fernando, whose first exhibition in this country was recently held at the Montage Gallery.

Twenty-one-year-old Fernando is a member of the "43 Group" of Ceylon—a body of young painters formed in 1943 as a challenge to more orthodox and firmly established groups such as the Ceylon Society of Arts, a colonial offshoot of the British Royal Academy.

For those who have seen little or nothing of this new trend in Ceylon's art, which is led by George Keyt and Justin Pieris, Fernando's highly original talent comes as a pleasant electric shock. He translates his impressions through a distinctive medium of his own, a medium of constructive colour harmonies that range from faded blues, limes, palest yellows, greys and Rajput pinks to the occasional deeper burgundy; pale yet forceful colours that link all his works and form what one might almost call the "Fernando palette."

During the last two of the three years he has been in England receiving medical treatment, Fernando's work has shown a remarkable flowering. Conventionally proud of his lack of formal art training, he is strangely untouched by outside influences. Contemporary English painting finds no

reflection in his sensitive landscapes; his water colours with their astonishing individuality are haunting in their tantalizing half-memories of the further East and startling in their freshness of approach.

This slight, boyish artist admits that he knows of no painter whose work has influenced him (consciously, that is), and indeed his later works are themselves a fascinating study of development and maturity that would appear to spring from the very depths of Fernando's own personality.

The exhibition, though small, portrayed this stimulating development as it progressed over the last two years from abstract colour compositions to the latest formative stage with its exciting movement and constructive colour harmonies. Fernando uses gouache, oil, pastel and water colour and has made some early and not so happy attempts at sculpture—the latter appears to be imitative and entirely lacking in the lively originality of his paintings.

Particularly interesting was the study in pastel and water colour of a Cornish harbour, together with its subsequent full-scale development in oils. A similar study and development was shown in a Cornish landscape, and both works appear to have sprung from a deep affection for and knowledge of his subject.

Official interest has already been shown in Ranjit Fernando's work, for H.E. Mr.

Wijeyeratne, High Commissioner for Ceylon, opened the exhibition at the beginning of December, and subsequently one day was devoted to a private showing for members of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon

Society. Other young artists should feel encouraged by the progress shown by this courageous Sinhalese visitor who has shown such exceptional talent.

S. M.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Making of Greater India : A Study in South-east Asian Culture Change. By H. G. Quaritch Wales. (London : Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.) 8vo. Pp. 209. 25s. net.

(Reviewed by GEORGE CÆDÈS)

For some fifteen years Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales has devoted himself to the study of the expansion of the Indian civilization on the Indochinese peninsula. His excavations in Malaya and in Siam, as well as his publications, have had for object the investigation of the character and the routes of this expansion. In his new book he sets forth his present ideas on the formation of the arts in the Indianized countries of South-east Asia.

I have not always been in agreement with the theories previously formulated by the author, and I have not hesitated, in the past, to criticize those which seemed to me difficult to reconcile with the facts. It is therefore with a certain satisfaction that I have observed, in reading the present work, that he has on more than one point taken account of my criticisms and abandoned several of the hypotheses advanced in his previous works, notably the one concerning the localization at Chaiya of the political centre of Śrīvijaya.

In Dr. Quaritch Wales's book one must not look for an analytical study of the problems posed by the making of Greater India. It is a synthesis, or more simply a thesis, of which the method is inspired by the recent works of Kroeber (*Anthropology*, 1948) and of Kardiner (*The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, 1945). In his earliest work, devoted to the traditional Siamese festivals, the author had

shown a leaning towards the sociological method : he continues today in the same way.

The arts of the Indianized countries of South-east Asia, and in a general manner their civilizations, have for a long time been regarded as the result of a mixture of Indian and local elements, and if the present tendency is to allow a greater and greater importance to the indigenous element to explain the way in which these civilizations differ from one another, the Indian civilization is no less considered to be the predominant factor.

Dr. Quaritch Wales proposes in his book a new point of view. For him the problem is one of culture change. It concerns, if I have properly understood, the evolution, not so much of the Indian civilization under foreign influence, as of the indigenous civilization under the influence of India. The change of culture, as for example the Indianization of the Khmers and the formation of their art, is the result of the more or less conscious reaction of a cultural group to contact with a foreign culture. The essential factor of this reaction is not racial ; it is the basic character of the group, the sum of its specific cultural characteristics, which constitute the "local genius," local here being equivalent to pre-Indian. And this is how the author formulates the governing idea that has inspired his work :

"This local genius can be destroyed by extreme acculturation. Alternatively, as a result of a lesser degree of acculturation, it can undergo more or less change. But in the latter case some of its features will remain constant, revealing themselves as a preference for what are evidently the more congenial

traits of a new cultural pattern, and a specific way of handling the newly acquired concepts. These constant features will determine the reaction to the new culture and give direction to subsequent evolution. It is the concept contained in the last sentence that provides us with our operative tool. For it means that local genius, the continuing effect of the previous civilization, is far from being just one ingredient in a 'mixture.' In conditioning the response to the foreign stimulus (whether this be influence from India or from some other culture) it provides the active agency which moulds the borrowed material, giving it an original twist and at the same time preserving and emphasizing the distinctive character of the evolution. It will be understood that when I speak of local genius moulding newly introduced traits I do so merely as a convenient abstraction; it is the craftsmen who do the actual moulding or reworking—in the light of local genius."

In the group of countries which have undergone the cultural influence of India Dr. Quaritch Wales distinguishes two zones: a western zone comprising Ceylon, Burma, central Siam, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, where an extreme acculturation has destroyed local genius, and an eastern one comprising Java, Champa and Cambodia, where the differentiation of the Indo-Javanese, Cham and Khmer cultures is due to the reaction of local genius, of which the constant traits depend on the particular pre-Indian civilization of each region. Taking up again one of his previous theories on the successive waves of Indian expansion, he distinguishes four, corresponding to the four periods characteristic of the development of Indian art: Amarāvati (second and third centuries), Gupta (fourth to sixth centuries), Pallava (550-750), Pāla (750-900).

Such is, in its main features, the thesis set forth in the introductory chapter. The next one is devoted to the eastern zone, "which received the full force of Indian colonizing zeal and where there was extreme acculturation"; in this zone the archaeological remains are of pure Indian type. The effects

of each of the waves, Gupta, Pallava and Pāla, have been felt everywhere, the last being always less perceptible in Burma and Siam. Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism were more flourishing than in the eastern zone, where the Śaivite cult of the *liṅga* found a terrain more favourable to its development. Lastly, one observes no evolution, the cessation of the Indian influence immediately bringing decadence in its train.

Examination of the archaeological documents of the western zone, which, apart from the monuments of Pagan, comprise only very few architectural remains, generally justifies Dr. Quaritch Wales's theory on the extreme acculturation of this zone. He attributes the cause to the vigour of the Indian expansion, which in this region operated nearest to its point of departure. But there will be room to inquire, in the course of future researches, whether the societies that underwent this intensive acculturation possessed a local genius vigorous enough to react in an effective manner to this impact. In this western zone, where are now found Tibeto-Burman, pygmoidal and Indonesian cultural groups, among the most backward of South-east Asia, the Indians had perhaps found sparse uncivilized peoples, more or less nomad, whose reaction was to take refuge in the mountains and the forests, where one finds them today. It was undoubtedly not the same in the east of the sub-continent and in Java, where homogeneous and long-settled societies were apparently capable of offering more resistance and a more fertile reaction to the cultural influence of India.

The third chapter is devoted to the study of the prehistory and the primitive religions of the societies in this eastern zone: it is, in the plan of the book, of very special importance, since it leads up to the working hypothesis designed to solve the problem posed at the threshold of the work. This problem Dr. Quaritch Wales does me the honour of formulating in words quoted from one of my works: "How did Indian æsthetics, transplanted to Cambodia, Java and the other countries, give birth to Khmer

art, Javanese art and the other Hindu arts of the Far East?"

According to the author, before the Indian influence was brought to bear, Indochina and Java had received two types of megalithic culture, of which certain surviving ethnic groups are the backward representatives, and of which certain archæological remains prove the existence in the last millennium before the Christian era :

(1) An elder megalithic culture of which the author enumerates the material traits, basing himself mainly on the works of R. Heine-Geldern, and the religious characteristics, following the work of Paul Mus. This civilization is still alive in Assam, Nias islands, and among certain peoples of the Annam mountains and the Malay archipelago. Its most remarkable remains, in the western zone, are to be seen at Pasemah (Sumatra) ; in the eastern zone the megalithic terraces of the Yang plateau, in eastern Java, are the most important archæological site, but not the only one in that large island. In Indochina the almost complete absence of such remains would be due in the case of Champa to the adoption of the Dongsonian civilization, and in the case of Cambodia to the probable utilization of ancient megaliths in the construction of Khmer monuments. However, megaliths are found among some backward tribes of the Môn-Khmer group.

(2) A younger megalithic or Dongsonian culture, introduced into Indochina in the fourth to third centuries B.C., which is a bronze-using civilization. Its remains in South China, Tonkin, Indonesia, and also in what was the territory of Champa, are well known. Their virtual absence in Cambodia would tend to prove the vigour in this country of the older megalithic.

Besides these two types of megalithic culture Dr. Quaritch Wales gives a certain share, in the formation of the pre-Indian civilization of the eastern zone, to two other elements. He admits in the first place a " possible " Egyptian influence which would show itself in Java in the presence of certain solar emblems studies by Stutterheim. He

envisages with Braddell the possibility that this Egyptian element was brought in by Arab navigation, especially that of the Sabæans, in the first half of the first millennium B.C. He admits, in the second place, a Chinese influence of Han period, attested by numerous finds of pottery, which would explain certain naturalistic characteristics of the arts of Champa and of Java.

A judicious dosage of these four elements leads the author to characterize in the following way the pre-Indian civilizations of the eastern zone, of which the local genius has moulded the Indian contribution : for Java, the components are older megalithic, Egyptian(?), Dongsonian and Han in origin ; for Champa, they are of Dongsonian and Han origin ; for Cambodia, only the older megalithic has to be taken into account. It is the reaction to the Indian influence of the local genii thus constituted that has produced the Indo-Javanese, Cham and Khmer evolutions respectively. Such is the working hypothesis proposed by Dr. Quaritch Wales to explain this evolution.

Space is lacking for me to follow the author step by step in his study of the arts of Java, Champa and Cambodia, made in the light of his hypothesis. The proof of his claims, based on a thorough knowledge of the archæological material taken from the best sources, is generally convincing and always interesting. A reproach which certain critics will not fail to bring is that he has sought to explain all on a single principle of interpretation. This is the danger inherent in all works of this kind—namely, that of trying to confine a complex and shifting reality in the rigid framework of a thesis. Dr. Quaritch Wales has undoubtedly considered that the importance of his working hypothesis for the study of the artistic evolution in Java, Champa and Cambodia was worth running the risk of being criticized and contradicted. In view of the good grace with which he has up to now admitted criticisms and contradiction and taken notice of them, I am sure that the reactions that this book will not fail to excite among certain art historians will lead him

to relax and to revise on several points the sometimes rather too rigid application of a theory in which there is certainly a very great deal of truth.

For my part, I shall limit myself to making some remarks with regard to two paragraphs of the chapter devoted to Cambodia, which relate to the cult of the *devarāja* and the symbolism of the Bayon.

It is generally admitted, in the light of the epigraphical evidence, that the cult of the *devarāja* or "royal god," associated with the building of temples in pyramidal form, or temple-mountains, was instituted by King Jayavarman II at the beginning of the ninth century. Since for Dr. Quaritch Wales, this cult and this architectural element would be a heritage of the older megalithic cult, and would be "expressive of deep-rooted pre-Indian convictions working through the medium of local genius," it is very important for his thesis that they should be attested in Cambodia from the beginning. So he puts himself to much trouble to show that "the cult of the *devarāja* was not introduced from Java by Jayavarman II when he returned from that island in 802, but was deep-rooted in the local traditions."

I do not believe that anyone ever seriously maintained, or regarded as other than a simple hypothesis, the Javanese origin of the *devarāja* cult. Such a view, already hardly probable on the single fact that the institution of the cult had precisely for its aim the liberation of Cambodia from Javanese suzerainty, would be contradicted by the text itself, which mentions the institution and attributes it to a Brahman coming from Janapada, an expression referring to a locality probably situated in northern Cambodia and in any case unconnected with Java. From this side Dr. Quaritch Wales has nothing to fear for his thesis. But, to prove the antiquity of the *devarāja* cult in Cambodia, he invokes at first two arguments which do not seem very well chosen: these are the priority to the reign of Jayavarman II of the Ak Yom pyramid, of which the construction would be before the end of the

eighth century, and the mention of the *devarāja* in an inscription of Sambor which would attest its existence at the beginning of Jayavarman II's reign.

The date of Ak Yom is a difficult problem to solve in view of the alterations undergone by this monument. In any case, the inscriptions of A.D. 609 and 704, which have been found there, are carved on re-employed stones, and one cannot deduce anything from them to determine the age of the pyramid, of which the south-east sanctuary has moreover provided an inscription of A.D. 1001. As to the inscription of Sambor, which also dates from the first year of the eleventh century, it simply mentions the erection of the royal god by a dignitary who was related to Jayavarman II; but it nowhere says that it was erected at the beginning of the reign of this king and before the installation of the cult on Mount Mahendra. These two arguments have therefore little weight.

The author then appeals to the evidence of the Chinese, who in the fifth century refer to, as taking place in Fu-nan, "the custom of worshipping the god Maheśvara, who ceaselessly descends on the mount Mo-tan," and who in the following century mention the cult of the *geni P'o-to-li* on the *Liṅgaparvata*. And the analogy that Dr. Quaritch Wales recognizes between the arrangement of the terraces of the Khmer temple of Wat Ph'u at the foot of *Liṅgaparvata* and that of the megalithic terraces of the Yang plateau in Java is certainly remarkable. He believes one can infer that the *Liṅgaparvata* of Chen-la, like the Ba Phnom hill of Fu-nan, was one of the most ancient centres of the *devarāja* cult in Indochina, and that, as soon as they were established in the Great Lake basin, the Khmers replaced natural mountains by pyramidal temples symbolizing the mountain. The absence of the temple-mountain in the pre-Angkorian epoch in King Īśānavarman's capital at Sambor Prei Kuk would be a proof of the vigour of the Indian influence at this time, and the return of the cult of the mountain in the Angkorian period

would be a manifestation of the latent action of local genius.

This construction is alluring enough. It would, however, have gained by not confusing two things which are perhaps connected but historically distinct: the cult of a god or of a sprite on a mountain, and the cult of the *devarāja*. To speak of the *devarāja* cult in Fu-nan and in Chen-la is an anachronism, unless Dr. Quaritch Wales takes the term *devarāja* in a vague sense to mean the cult of the royal *liṅga*. If the existence of this cult is attested since the pre-Angkorian period, the special cult of a religious entity called *devarāja* is certainly not earlier than the ninth century, and its installation on Mount Mahendra by Jayavarman II is an historically well-known event. I need not consider here what this cult represented and in what way it could have been connected to that of the royal *liṅga*. What is certain is that (apart from the difficult problem of the dating of Ak Yom) its installation on Phnom Kulen coincides with the appearance of the first pyramid, that of Krus Prah Aram Rong Chen on this hill, soon followed by the construction on the level of the pyramid of Bakong and the dozen others which belong to the Angkor group. That the adoption of this characteristic architectural feature had been influenced by the ancient cult of sacred mountains of Fu-nan and of Chen-la I freely admit, but in my opinion a simple resurgence of the local genius, in the course of the evolution of the religious architecture, will not suffice to explain it. There was, at the beginning of the ninth century, a new "stimulus," to use the author's terminology; this was the institution of a new cult bringing some rites based on four Sanskrit texts of tantric persuasion. On this exact point it is difficult to confine the facts within the framework of the proposed thesis.

In his paragraph referring to the symbolism of the Bayon, Dr. Quaritch Wales describes this monument as a temple where the *devarāja* was represented by a gigantic *Lokeśvara* which was at the same time a portrait statue of the reigning king Jayavarman VII. He knows, however, that the

central image of the Bayon has been found and that it is not a *Lokeśvara* but a Buddha seated beneath the *nāga* hood and known, it would seem, as *Jayabuddhamahānātha*. The *Lokeśvara* *Samantamukha*, whose faces are represented on the towers, ought to play the part of mediator between the external world and this image of the king identified as Buddha. This precision has perhaps no great significance for Dr. Quaritch Wales, who seeks primarily to show that, by its appearance of a sculptured rock, the Bayon constitutes "the case par excellence where, if we find the development of the pyramid . . . accompanied by a tendency to stress the outflow of royal power to the four quarters more than the circular movement (of the Indian planetary cosmology), we may legitimately accept these as signs that the older megalithic genius is at work." The rectification that I have proposed is, however, necessary from the historical point of view, because the development of the *Lokeśvara* cult, and in certain cases its substitution for the cult of the Buddha, marks an important turn in the religious evolution of Jayavarman VII.

I could have called attention to some other inexactitudes of the same kind, but in this review I have mainly devoted myself to analysing in some detail the first part of the work, because it is that which is most likely to exercise an influence on future researches through offering to inquirers a new method of investigation, or through provoking the constructive criticism of art historians.

Personally, I believe that the very unequal development of archaeological research in the countries under consideration calls for great caution, and that it is perhaps a little premature to wish to explain all by one principle. But I do not in any way contest Dr. Quaritch Wales's right to propose what he modestly calls a working hypothesis; I even congratulate him and I thank him for having done so, because I believe that, in the present state of our knowledge, his hypothesis has the merit of attracting our attention to a somewhat unrecognized fact: the

continuity in each of the Indianized countries of the eastern zone of a pre-Indian tradition which, even during the period when the influence of India was most intense, remained beneath and always ready to react. There was previously too much tendency to speak of the Indian civilization and art as imposed on peoples, while one neglected their reaction. Let us be indulgent if the author sometimes falls into the opposite excess, and only considers the Indian influence as a "stimulus" which provoked the reaction of what I have called the "indigenous substratum" ("substrat autochtone") and which he prefers to call "local genius." Although he does not expressly say so, he seems to consider the pre-Indian civilizations of South-east Asia as old trees grown from various crossings, on to which an Indian graft would have brought about the flowering of the Javanese, Khmer, etc., civilizations. If this was the case it seems to me that one would observe much greater differences, specific differences as marked as those which separate the pre-Indian civilizations themselves. Now, whatever may be the personality proper to each of the arts considered, they show a close relationship, and I shall not tire of repeating that monuments as different in plan, architecture and decoration as Borobodur and Angkor Wat can nevertheless be completely explained by Indian ideas and Sanskrit texts. It seems to me, on the other hand, extremely difficult to consider them as the response of a Javanese or Khmer local genius to a simple Indian stimulus, because their Indian character is much too profound.

My impression—but it is only an impression—is rather that the ancient pre-Indian civilizations of Indochina and Indonesia, by whatever labels one may choose to designate them, have furnished the more or less rich, more or less complex, terrain on which developed the same foreign species of plant that from one country to another remains the same and only shows some differences due to differences of "soil." And if I may repeat an expression that I previously used in reviewing Dr. Quaritch Wales's *Towards*

Angkor, I will conclude in applying to the group of Indianized arts of Indochina and Indonesia the formula that I then applied to Khmer art: "a vigorous trunk which, grown from an Indian seed, has deep roots in Cambodian soil."

Classical Dances and Costumes of India. By Kay Ambrose. (Adam and Charles Black.) 25s.

(Reviewed by WINIFRED HOLMES)

Indian classical dancing is devotional and symbolic: European ballet is emotional, treating of the human heart and of the joys and sorrows of the individual, whereas Indian dancing expresses spiritual truths and philosophic ideas. In ballet the dancer is a performer, projecting his or her own technique and personality across the footlights. In Bharat Natya, Kathak or Kathakali the dancer is a devotee, a worshipper or, more often, an abstraction. Adapting these hieratic dance forms to Western audiences and to the exigencies of the limited picture-frame stage and its conventions, especially to an audience largely unfamiliar with the mythology, the philosophic truths or the sign-language of the formalized technique, is a very difficult task. Several distinguished Indian dancers have tried to do it, with varying success, Uday Shankar and Mrinalini Sarabhai being among the most notable. But it is Ram Gopal, to whom this book is dedicated, who has been chiefly instrumental in building up an informed and appreciative public in Britain, not only for dancing but for Indian classical music as well.

Without such a public the book would not have been a practical possibility. As it is, it is assured the good sale it well deserves, being the most profusely and scientifically illustrated book on the subject to have appeared in the West. Its foreword by Arnold Haskell and its introduction by Ram Gopal set the seal on its authenticity.

Beautiful and well chosen as they are, it is not the photographs but the line drawings by the artist-author, who is herself a dancer, which make the book so valuable and unique, particularly for students of the Indian dance.

These visual descriptions of the dynamic patterns of the four main techniques provide students with the first grammar of the classical Indian dance to appear in Britain, and are beyond praise.

The text, though written with intimate knowledge and an artist's quick and sensitive perception, is often less satisfactory. More justice might have been given to other leading dancers and dance troupes: there is no mention of Gopinath, for instance, the great Kathakali dancer. Moreover, although the descriptions of dances, costumes and musical instruments are provocative and the information given is often full and unquestionably correct, the balance of space is not well kept—the chapter on Kathakali being too slight in relation to Bharat Natya, for instance. More precise scholarship, too, would have made the distinction that while the basis of Kathakali and its complicated system of *mudras*—hand-gestures—is very ancient, the form the dance-dramas take today and much of the fantastic costumes worn are later developments, bound up with the medieval development of Malayalam.

The charming devotional dances from Manipur might well have received longer and more serious consideration, while the dances from Ceylon, if included at all, certainly warranted more space. However, it is perhaps churlish to ask for more when there is so much that is admirable, and there is no doubt that Kay Ambrose has given us the finest visual explanation of this great and ancient art, whose chief exponent today is Ram Gopal.

Not only is he the chief exponent, but India and the West owe him a great debt in that he has been instrumental in reviving an art which had largely died out or been debased. It had become a far cry from the *devadasis* of the South Indian temples or the nautch girls of the North to the lofty conception of the technique and aims of the dance as expressed in the *Natya Sastra*, the treatise on the dance. . . . First must come the invocation to Siva, Lord of the Dance. . . . "Calling by the beat of the drum all persons engrossed in worldly affairs, the kind-hearted One who

destroys all fear of the meek and gives them reassurance, and points by his hand to his upraised lotus-foot as the refuge of salvation and also carries the fire and who dances in the Assembly Hall (Universe), Let that Lord of the Dance protect us."

And then, "having made the invocation the dancing may begin. The song should be sustained in the throat; the mood must be shown by the glances; time is marked by the feet. For, wherever the hand moves, there the glances follow: where the glances go, the mind follows; where the mind goes, the mood follows; where the mood goes, there is the flavour (*rasa*)."

This book has mind, mood and flavour and much beauty. No lover or student of the Indian dance can afford to be without it.

Twilight of the Mughuls. By Percival Spear.
(Cambridge University Press.) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR PATRICK CADELL, C.S.I., C.I.E.)

The century in the history of Delhi, before the city with the rest of India passed formally to the Government of the British Crown, provides an admirable subject for Dr. Spear's knowledge and skill. The glory of the Mughuls had departed, but the dynasty lingered on as the nominal fount of authority and honour. A painful interest attaches to its continuance under a variety of competitors and adventurers till it reached a condition of pensioned atrophy under the East India Company's officers. These certainly treated the family with greater respect and consideration than it had received from the various usurpers of its authority during the preceding half-century. An admirable description is given of the British administration under picked young officers. The absence of any previous organized system, except that of village republics, made it, in the author's words, virgin soil for the administrator, and there was a pleasing absence of regulations and of the interference of Judicial Courts which were making administration complicated and litigation ruinous in the British Upper Provinces. The administrators, most of them youthful, made errors which the author points out,

such as the over-assessment of the Land Revenues. Against this must be placed the advantage of personal rule, especially as exercised over many years by Charles Metcalfe and his brother Thomas, and the desire which they, and men like William Fraser, shared to maintain the old village institutions. The proximity of the Upper Provinces, and the introduction of senior officers brought up in the system of these Provinces, with the inevitable growth of judicial forms in the Courts, must doubtless in any case have abrogated the early simplicity of the organization. The happiness and prosperity of the City and Province is, however, amply proved by the evidence which Dr. Spear quotes from an author who was no friend to British administration. For the British officials also it was a most pleasant sphere of action. To quote Dr. Spear, "In all the wide plains of Hindustan, if there was a paradise on earth for the British, it was to be found in Delhi."

This state of affairs, and, for the time being, the prosperity of the City, was brought to an abrupt end by the mutiny of the Bengal Army. It was the presence of the remains of the Mughul dynasty in the City that made it the vital point of the whole catastrophe. As might be expected, Dr. Spear is very kindly in his judgment of the ancient king, Bahadur Shah. Whatever can be urged in extenuation of his share in the struggle, it cannot be denied that he acquiesced in the massacre of the Christian women and children who had sought his protection, and that this took place some days after the violence of the first outbreak; and, further, that he took a nominally active, if feeble, share in the subsequent administration. The juristic point whether, as an originally independent Sovereign, the British had any right to try him—a point first raised by a British writer fifty years after the event—does not seem of great importance. As the author points out, Sir John Lawrence regarded the proceedings as a Court of Enquiry, though in judicial form, and the Commission passed no sentence.

This, however, was only an episode,

though a final one, in a century of great interest, admirably depicted by the author.

Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills. By W. G. Archer. (H.M. Stationery Office.) 8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by J. C. FRENCH)

I once heard Sir William Rothenstein express surprise that more efforts had not been made to distinguish the schools of painting among the beautiful pictures of the Rajput Himalayas. He said that if only they had come from Italy how much activity there would have been. Mr. Basil Gray in his *Rajput Painting* (1948) remarks, "Much work remains to be done on these local schools." To this task Mr. Archer addresses himself in this book. He has a beautiful subject. These paintings of the Hills, as the Himalayas are often called, are the last and one of the loveliest of the schools of the traditional art of India. And their homeland, the Kangra Valley, the centre of the art of the Hills, is a worthy frame for it. Kangra is the upper valley of the Beas river, a river of the Punjab, "the land of the Five Rivers." The rich green of its fields contrasts with the dark wall of mountain which rises steeply throughout its length. And always in view are the white peaks of the eternal snows. The Kangra Valley is a world of castles, knight-hood and chivalry. Dr. Coomaraswamy, who introduced this art to the Western world in his *Rajput Painting* in 1916, says of it: "Rajput art creates a magic world where all men are heroic, all women are beautiful and passionate and shy, beasts both wild and tame are the friends of man. This Rajput art is in effect the last phase of a now long-lost style, a style that rises up before us and awakens in us an ineffaceable regret." This antique heroic element is well illustrated in two of Mr. Archer's plates from Guler—Fig. 15, "The Unveiling of Draupadi," and Fig. 16, "The arrival of the chariot." Mr. Laurence Binyon has compared one aspect of this art to "a voice singing in the open air." This lyrical quality is shown in Mr. Archer's plates from Kangra—Fig. 1, "The

gathering storm," and Fig. 3, "Palace lady with her maids" Mr. Archer says, "The rhythmical qualities of line were employed for achieving a sense of cadence. . . . Even landscape was treated as a 'forest of symbols' in which each image, whether of trees, flowers, rivers, rain, birds or animals, contributed its fill of poetic suggestion." The sensitive and delicate portrayal of the foliage of trees is shown in "Raja Gobardhan Singh of Guler with ladies" (Fig. 22) and in a second Guler picture, "Krishna and the milkmaids" (Fig. 25). In another Guler picture (Fig. 28) the tender and sympathetic delineation of Siva's bull is reminiscent of an Italian Quattrocento fresco.

What gives the Kangra Valley its special artistic significance is the form of painting known in the Hills and Northern India as the Kangra style. But between *Kangra* and *style* the word *Valley* should be inserted. Otherwise it would appear to be confined to the State of Kangra, by no means identical with the whole valley. This method of painting was the happy combination of the calligraphic Mogul line with the primitive simplicity of the traditional Hindu art. The plates of the Basohli pictures (Figs. 5 to 10) are examples of this old Hindu style. Now, Mogul painting arose from the mingling of Persian art, with its calligraphic line and brilliant decorative sense, with Hindu traditional work in the reign of the Emperor Akbar in the sixteenth century. In turn Mogul influence penetrated Hindu Rajput art in Rajputana and the Kangra Valley. But where did it enter the Kangra Valley? Mr. Archer gives the answer—at Guler. And the reasons he gives for this view are convincing. They are both geographical and political. Guler stands just at the entrance to the Kangra Valley, where it joins the Punjab plain. It is conveniently placed for intercourse with it and is easily accessible to the cultural influences of the great Indian world beyond. Politically three successive rajahs of Guler in the seventeenth century served with distinction in the Mogul army, and their relations with the Emperors were cordial. Mr. Archer's view that Guler is the

source and origin of this style in the Kangra Valley coincides with what I saw in the collection of pictures, inherited from his ancestors, in the house of the Raja of Guler in the Kangra Valley.

Reference has already been made to beautiful examples of Guler art. Mr. Archer draws particular attention to the plate of Raja Gobardhan Singh of Guler listening to music (Fig. 16). I photographed this picture, which is dated 1743, in the house of the Raja of Guler, Gobardhan Singh's descendant. As Mr. Archer mentions, it was shown in my book *Himalayan Art*. It is a work of beauty. The admirable design, expressed in the flow of the calligraphic line which animates the sensitive delicacy of feature and figure, conveys a sense of tender reverie consonant with the spirit of Rajput art. Mr. Archer shows how Guler art spread beyond its home. He makes the interesting suggestion that Nainsukh, the painter of Raja Balwant Singh (Fig. 35), which is dated 1748, worked in Guler as an artist. He bases his view on the close resemblance which Fig. 35 bears to Fig. 16, the picture of Raja Gobardhan Singh listening to music. This is certainly so.

Mr. Archer shows how the art of Guler moved up the Kangra Valley to the State of Kangra. Unlike the Rajas of Guler, the rulers of Kangra were on bad terms with the Moguls and took refuge in the mountains. They did not come down to the valley until the waning of the Mogul power in the middle of the eighteenth century, and even then they did not recover their ancestral stronghold, Kangra Fort. Raja Ghamand Chand of Kangra reigned from 1751 to 1774. Mr. Archer says that hardly any paintings have been found which are at all connected with him. His portrait (Fig. 53), which I photographed in the house of his descendant, the Maharaja of Lambagaon, in the Kangra Valley, is not in the style usually associated with "Kangra." Mr. Archer's statement, "There is certainly no indication of any highly developed school in Kangra prior to Sansar Chand," coincides with what I saw in the Maharaja of Lambagaon's collection

of pictures, inherited from his ancestors, in his house in the Kangra Valley. The Maharaja is the heir of Ghamand Chand and Sansar Chand, and would be Maharaja of Kangra State if it still existed, just as the Raja of Guler would be of Guler State.

The main centre of painting in the Kangra Valley shifted from Guler to Kangra in the time of the great Maharaja of Kangra, Sansar Chand, of whom three portraits are shown (Figs. 47, 50 and 52). Of painting in Kangra before Sansar Chand there is, besides the above-mentioned portrait of Ghamand Chand, the picture of Sansar Chand's marriage procession, which I photographed in the house of the Maharaja of Lambagaon and which is shown in my article "Sansar Chand of Kangra" in *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*, No. 2, 1947. Sansar Chand is here shown as too young to control events, and so the painting represents work previous to his influence. Design and line are good, but the general feeling is more restrained than in the luscious glow of the "Kangra" style. Sansar Chand was the grandson of Ghamand Chand. In 1786 he got back Kangra Fort. "Who holds Kangra Fort, holds the Hills." He then succeeded in making himself overlord of the Western Hills. He was a patron of art and painters flocked to his Court, and the Kangra style grew and flourished. But in 1806 he was attacked by the Gurkhas, and though he was rescued by the Sikhs in 1809 they kept Kangra Fort for themselves. But he was happier than the Raja of Guler, whose

State was entirely annexed by the Sikhs. Still, from this time of troubles Kangra art declined.

A word must be said on colour in this art. Beautiful as is the line of the art of Guler and Kangra, its colour is equally fine. Clear, pure and bright, it is yet of a gossamer lightness and delicacy. The artists of Guler and Kangra had the colours of the dawn and the rainbow on their palettes.

This book treats of the art of Basohli, that picturesque little town perched on a rushing mountain torrent, with its great ruined castle out of which I was chased by wild bees when I went there. A Basohli picture is shown dated 1695 (Fig. 6). Features of this school are lively activity and a brisk simplification, with a brilliant colour scheme which makes the paintings shine like jewels.

Mr. Archer also discusses the art problems of Jammu and Punch, but to do justice to his exposition of these questions would necessitate the extension of this review to an undue length.

As regards Punch, I am happy to reassure Mr. Archer on a personal point. He expressed kindly regret that I was unable to photograph frescoes in the Raja's palace at Punch. But I did photograph frescoes inside the Fort of Punch. They were painted after 1819 in the late Kangra style. So Mr. Archer's impression of the character and date of the frescoes in Punch is quite correct.

This book should be read by all who are interested in Indian art.

NEW ACQUISITIONS AT THE INDIAN SECTION, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

THE outstanding event of 1951 for the Indian Section was the acquisition of the Rothenstein collection of Rajput and Mughal paintings. This extremely important collection was purchased with the generous help of Lady Rothenstein and the National Art

Collections Fund, following the special exhibition of the paintings held at the Museum in conjunction with the Society. A full catalogue of the collection is included in *ART AND LETTERS*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, 1951.

In addition, the Museum acquired three

NEW ACQUISITIONS AT THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM --

important groups of sculptures. The first consisted of nearly a hundred selected terracottas from the well-known collection of Colonel D. H. Gordon, D.S.O., O.B.E. These pieces are mostly of the Hellenistic period, from the sites of ancient Gandhara which have comprised the main subject of his published researches over the last twenty years.¹ Included among them are all the terracottas lent by him for display in the Royal Academy's Exhibition of Indian Art, 1946-7, and all those used to illustrate his important papers on the dating of Indian terracottas.²

The second group of sculptures consists of twenty-three Gandhara figures of outstand-

ing quality purchased from Captain Hay, originating from sites in the Khyber Agency. These pieces have been exhibited by the Museum as loans for many years, and several were included in the Royal Academy's 1946-7 Winter Exhibition. Captain Hay was fortunately able to furnish precise details of the sites from which they came.

The most important of the new sculpture acquisitions from an æsthetic point of view are two twelfth-century Apsaras figures from Bhuvaneswar in Orissa—a style in which the Museum has hitherto been poorly represented. These figures were bought at Sotheby's and are now prominently displayed in the entrance room of the Indian Section. The only record of their history is contained in a footnote to the sale Catalogue, which said: "These figures were taken from the wall of a temple at Bhuvaneswar, when it was repaired in 1899, and given by the Public Works Department of Bengal to an ancestor of the present owner." Special photographs of the figures have been taken and can be ordered, on payment, from the Museum.

¹ A map and general summary of the sites is published in the *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute*, Calcutta, vol. i (New Series), 1945, pp. 9-25.

² "Some terracottas from Sari Dheri," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1932, pp. 163-71; "Notes on Early Frontier Terracottas," *Man*, No. 70, 1934; "The Problem of Early Indian Terracottas," *Man*, No. 129, 1935; "The Mother Goddesses of Gandhara," *Antiquity*, March, 1937; "Hellenism in North-west India," *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. x, 1944; "Early Indian Terracottas," *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. xi, 1943.

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